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# A HISTORY OF CORNWALL



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Pt. 5

# A HISTORY OF THE COUNTY OF CORNWALL

EDITED BY  
WILLIAM PAGE F.S.A.

## Part 5

ROMANO-BRITISH REMAINS by the late F. HAVERFIELD  
M.A. LL.D. D.Litt. F.S.A., Camden Professor of Ancient  
History, Oxford, revised and edited by M. V.  
TAYLOR M.A., with a Note on the MILESTONES  
AND ROADS OF CORNWALL by  
R. G. COLLINGWOOD M.A. F.S.A.

1924

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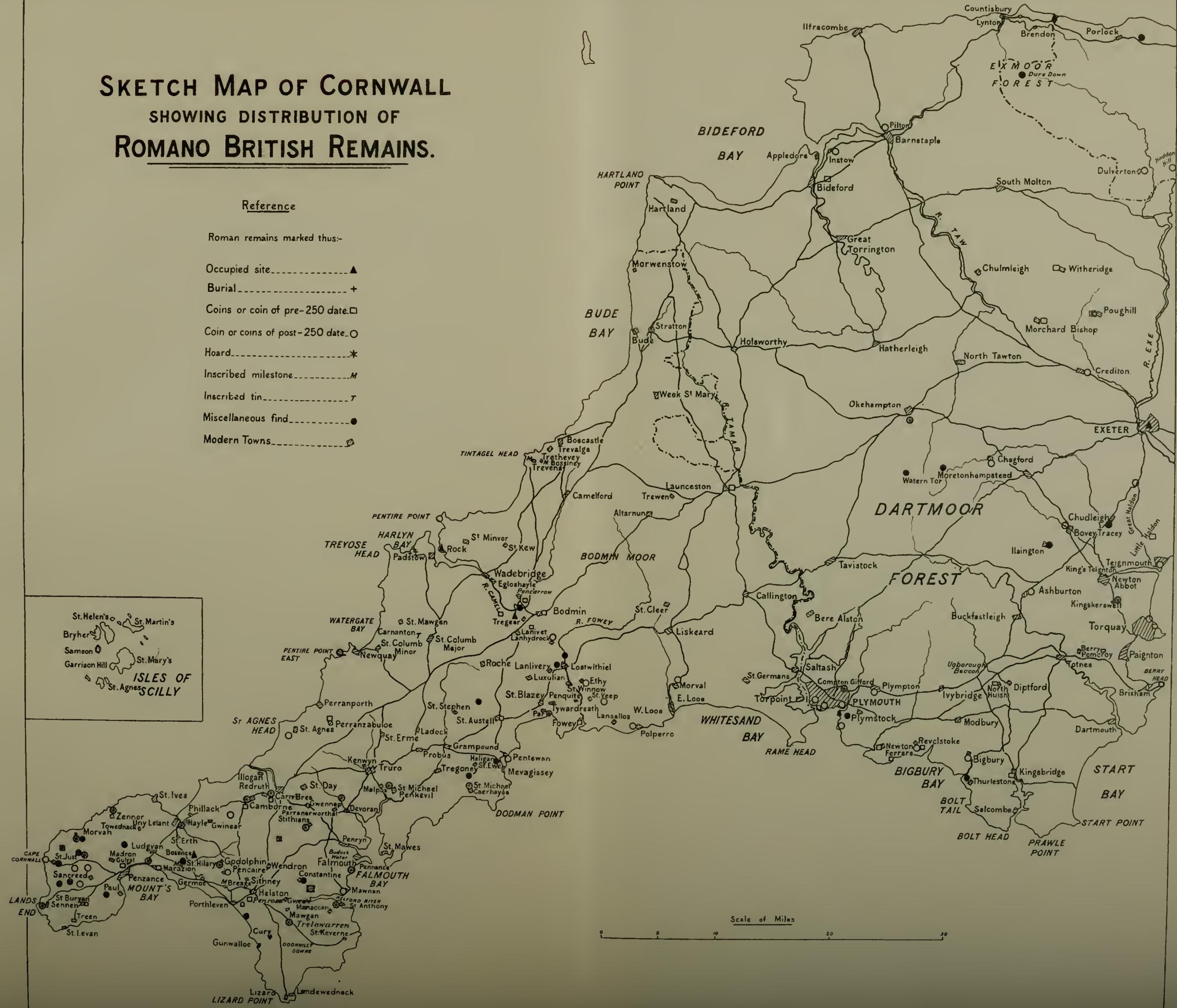
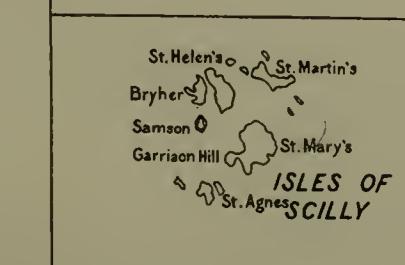


# SKETCH MAP OF CORNWALL SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF ROMANO BRITISH REMAINS.

## Reference

Roman remains marked thus:-

- Occupied site.....▲
- Burial.....+
- Coins or coin of pre-250 date.□
- Coin or coins of post-250 date.○
- Hoard.....\*
- Inscribed milestone.....M
- Inscribed tin.....T
- Miscellaneous find.....●
- Modern Towns.....□





# ROMANO-BRITISH CORNWALL

1. Introduction, p. 2. 2. Archæological remains—(a) sites: Tregear, p. 4; Harlyn Bay, p. 5; St. Minver, p. 6; Bosence, p. 8; (b) objects: inscriptions (Tintagel and St. Hilary milestones, p. 8, and the Carnanton ingot, p. 10); coins, p. 11; other small objects, p. 14. 3. Literary evidence, p. 15. 4. Sketch of Roman Cornwall, p. 19. 5. The milestones and roads of Cornwall (by R. G. Collingwood, F.S.A.), p. 26. 6. Bibliographical Index, p. 32. Appendix on the name Cold Harbour, p. 43.

## EDITORIAL NOTE.

The greater part of this article was written by the late Professor Haverfield in the years 1904 and 1905. Unfortunately he never completed his work. Before he was compelled to lay it aside, he had finished Sections 1, 2, and 6, that is, the Introduction, the Account of the Archæological Remains, and the Bibliographical Index (with Appendix), Section 6 being actually set up in type. He had also written the first draft of part of Section 4, the Sketch of Roman Cornwall. On the other hand, Section 3, the Literary Evidence, was untouched, and has been compiled by Miss M. V. Taylor, M.A., who for many years assisted Professor Haverfield in his literary work, from various articles written by him. Amongst these articles is one on the Cassiterides which appeared in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie* (1919), considerable use of which has been made by permission of Professor Kroll, the editor-in-chief; another article on Cornish tin, contributed to *Mélanges Boissier* (Paris, 1903), has been used by permission of the editors of that work; as well as a third, also on Cornish tin, printed in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries* (2nd Ser. xviii, 117). Section 4, the Sketch of Roman Cornwall, has been similarly supplemented by Miss Taylor; and, further, the whole article has been revised by her so as to bring it up to date, the few necessary additions being included within square brackets. Lastly, with the consent of the Society of Antiquaries, Mr. R. G. Collingwood, M.A., F.S.A., has generously allowed us to reproduce the substance of a paper which he read before the Society on 13 December, 1923. This paper includes the record of two new inscriptions, and states more definitely certain conclusions, independently arrived at by Mr. Collingwood, which Professor Haverfield had already indicated and would no doubt have amplified had he lived to revise his work.

The editor desires to thank Mr. George Macdonald, C.B., LL.D., D.Litt., F.B.A., and Mr. Henry Jenner, M.A., F.S.A., for many suggestions and corrections. He is also indebted to the Royal Institution of Cornwall for permission to reproduce figures 2, 4, 6, 7, and 8 from vol. x of the *Journal of the Institution*; to the Society of Antiquaries and Mr. Collingwood for leave to reproduce figures 10, 11, 13, 15, 16, and 17; and to the Archæological Institute for figure 5.

## LIST OF ROMAN EMPERORS TO HONORIUS.

The following list will, it is hoped, be found useful and will obviate the necessity of inserting dates after the names of Roman Emperors or their kinsfolk throughout this article:—

B.C. 31—A.D. 14	Augustus	A.D. 138–61	Antoninus Pius	A.D. 196–7	Albinus
A.D. 14–37	Tiberius		—Wife Faustina I (d. 141)	211–12	Geta
23	Drusus	161–80	M. Aurelius—	211–17	Caracalla
37–41	Caligula		—Wife Faustina II (d. 176)	217–18	Macrinus
41–54	Claudius		Commodus	218–22	Elagabalus
54–68	Nero	180–93	Pertinax	223	Julia Maesa
68	Galba	193	Didius Julianus	222–35	Alexander Severus
69	Otho	193–4	Pescennius Niger	235–8	Maximinus
	Vitellius	193–4	Septimius Severus—Wife Julia Domna	238	Gordian I & II
69–79	Vespasian	193–4		238–44	Pupienus and Balbinus
79–81	Titus			244–9	Gordian III
81–96	Domitian			249–51	Philippus Decius
96–8	Nerva				
98–117	Trajan				
117–38	Hadrian				

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A.D. 251-3	Gallus and Volusianus	A.D. 282-3	Carus	A.D. 337-50	Constans I
253	Aemilianus	283-4	Carinus and Numerianus	350-3	Magnentius
253-58	Valerianus	284-305	Diocletian	351-4	Constantius Gallus
253-68	Gallienus— <i>Wife</i> Salonina	286-94	Carausius	360-3	Julian
258-68	Postumus	286-308	Maximinus	363-4	Jovian
267	Laelianus Marius	294-6	Allectus	364-75	Valentinianus I
		305-6	Constantius I (Chlorus)	364-78	Valens
268-70	Victorinus	305-11	Galerius	375-83	Gratian
268-70	Claudius Gothicus	306-37	Constantine the Great	375-92	Valentinianus II
270-73	Tetricus	306-12	Maxentius	379-95	Theodosius
270	Quintillus	306-7	Severus II	383-408	Arcadius
270-5	Aurelianus	308-24	Licinius	392-4	Eugenius
275-6	Tacitus	307-13	Maximinus II	393-423	Honorius
276	Florianus	337-40	Constantinus II	407-11	Constantinus III
276-82	Probus	337-61	Constantius II	421	Constantius III

## I. INTRODUCTION.

THE province of Roman Britain may be divided into two parts, which were sharply distinguished, not in law, but in practical administration. These two parts are the districts of the military occupation in the north and in Wales, and the districts of civil life in the midlands, the east, and the south. Each of these two parts has its normal features which recur regularly and uniformly throughout its area. In the military districts there are forts and fortresses, roads and frontier defences. In the civilian districts there are towns and villages, country houses and farms, and often some branch of trade or industry. In either case the student who examines the antiquities has a plain task before him. His business is to trace out the normal features which occur within his field of work, to note abnormal intrusions, and on this basis to compare the character of his special region with the general conditions of the province. His results vary. Gloucestershire shows him two considerable country towns and many elaborate country houses. The adjacent Warwickshire offers no towns and only scanty provision of villages and single houses. North Kent unfolds a rich and well-developed civilization equalling that of Gloucestershire, while the south of the county resembles Warwickshire. But in each case it is the same civilization which confronts him. The same problems arise; the same methods of criticism are required; and the same standard of appreciation can be applied throughout.

When we pass to Cornwall a difference at once meets us. The land west of the Tamar, and, indeed, the land also that lies between the Tamar and the Exe, presents none of the normal features of Romano-British life. Here are neither forts nor fortresses, nor towns and country houses; roads are all but unknown, and the vestiges even of villages are dim and faint. The normal fabric of Romano-British civilization seems here to fail. We escape the ordinary problems of Romano-British archæology. Instead, we are beset by others such as arise nowhere else in Britain. The archæological remains which engage us consist mostly of coins and other small objects. And they are not our only study. They are reinforced and perhaps overshadowed by literary material. We have to discuss a mining industry which owes its importance, not to its archæological remains, which are few, but to its literary

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reputation, which is immense, and to its presumed place in the trade of the ancient world. There is a wide difference between this tin industry and the other mineral industries of Roman Britain—for example, the lead mines of Derbyshire and Somerset. Lead had no special value in ancient commerce; literary references to lead-mining in Britain are few and simple, and abundant archæological evidence survives to help us in discussing it. Tin, on the other hand, was singularly important in the old world, which used bronze freely. British tin, in particular, is frequently and strikingly mentioned in ancient literature of the most diverse periods, while the archæological remains of the tin industry are startling in their fewness.

These facts forbid us to examine Roman Cornwall on the plan which we have adopted for other parts of Roman Britain. The archæological evidence must still provide our basis. But it requires a different treatment. We cannot draw up lists of towns and villas and roads, and describe each in turn, for there are none to describe. Our evidence is limited largely to coins and small objects found sporadically, and these yield up their secrets only when tabulated with a minuteness of detail which would be needless if other large remains were plentiful. Nor is this all. In other counties our task ends with this survey of actually known remains. In Cornwall we have further to compare our results with literary evidence. Only thus will the picture of Roman Cornwall at last grow clear before us, and beside it will emerge some not wholly untrue image of that ancient tin trade which is so famous and yet so little known.

## 2. ARCHÆOLOGICAL REMAINS OF THE ROMAN PERIOD.

The archæological remains of Roman Cornwall fall into three groups. Four sites, Tregear near Bodmin, St. Minver and Harlyn Bay near Padstow, and Bosence near Marazion, show traces of settled life during at least a part of the Roman period. Three other sites, Carnanton, Tintagel, and St. Hilary, have yielded individual objects of real importance. Thirdly, many spots

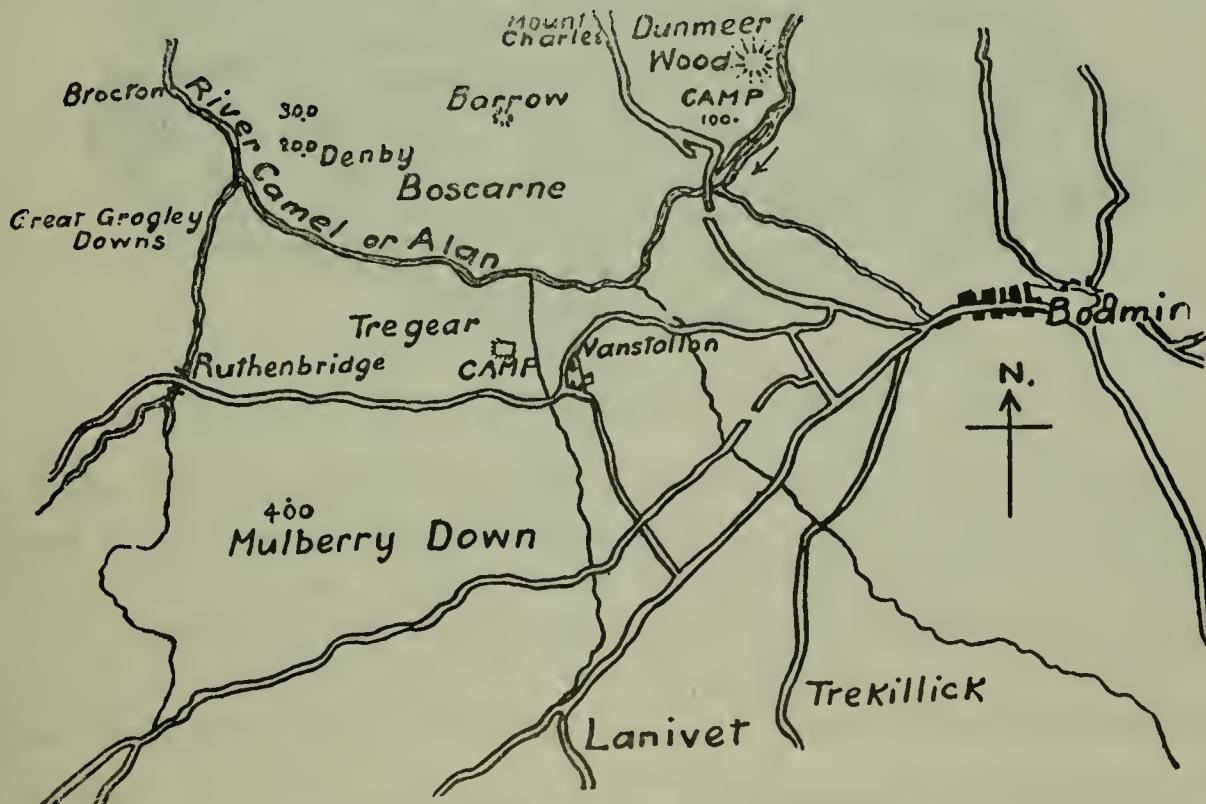


FIG. I. TREGEAR: MAP OF VICINITY.

Scale: one inch = one mile.

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supply us with isolated finds, principally coins, but occasionally potsherds or *fibulæ* and the like, which have not so much value for the historian. It will suffice here to describe the first two groups. We need only summarize the third, referring to the bibliography at the end of this article for further details respecting it.



FIG. 2. TREGEAR: EARLY SAMIAN POTTERY (1). (See p. 5.)

(a) *Tregear*<sup>1</sup>.—Two miles west of Bodmin, in the narrow valley of the Alan or Camel, is the hamlet of Nanstallon near an ancient ford, superseded since 1830 by a bridge, across the river (figs. 1 and 6). Four hundred yards south of the ford, on rising ground, stands the farmhouse of Tregear, and just above it on a low hilltop is the site of an ancient earthwork, now almost obliterated but still called "the Campfield." Originally this earthwork

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Jenner tells us that the name comes from *Tre* (=town) and *Kear* (Car, Welsh *Caer*, Breton *Ker*=fort), and that there are about a dozen places called 'Tregear' in Cornwall, probably all associated with earthworks, but not with Roman antiquities.

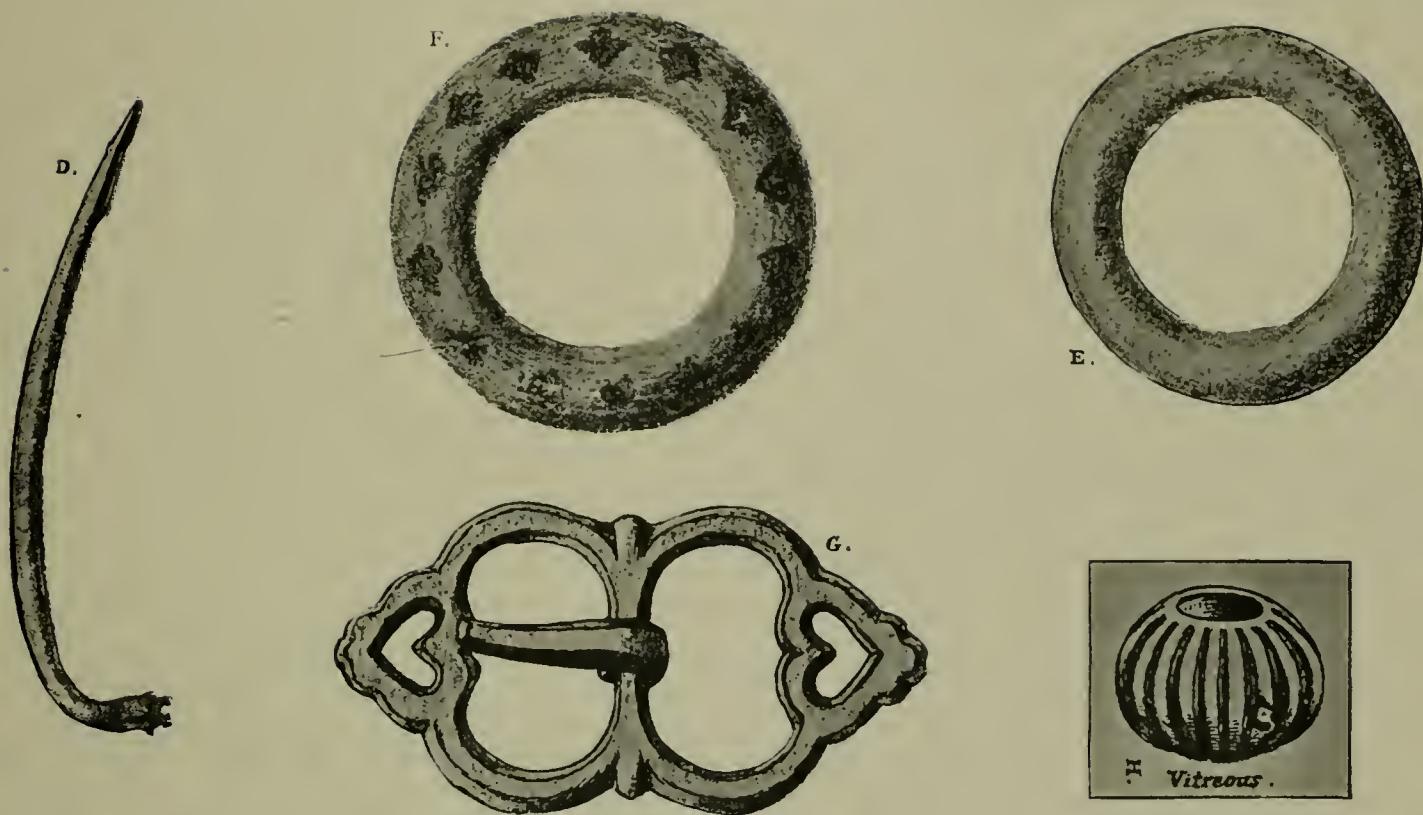


FIG. 3. TREGEAR: MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS IN BRONZE AND A GLASS BEAD (1). (See p. 5)

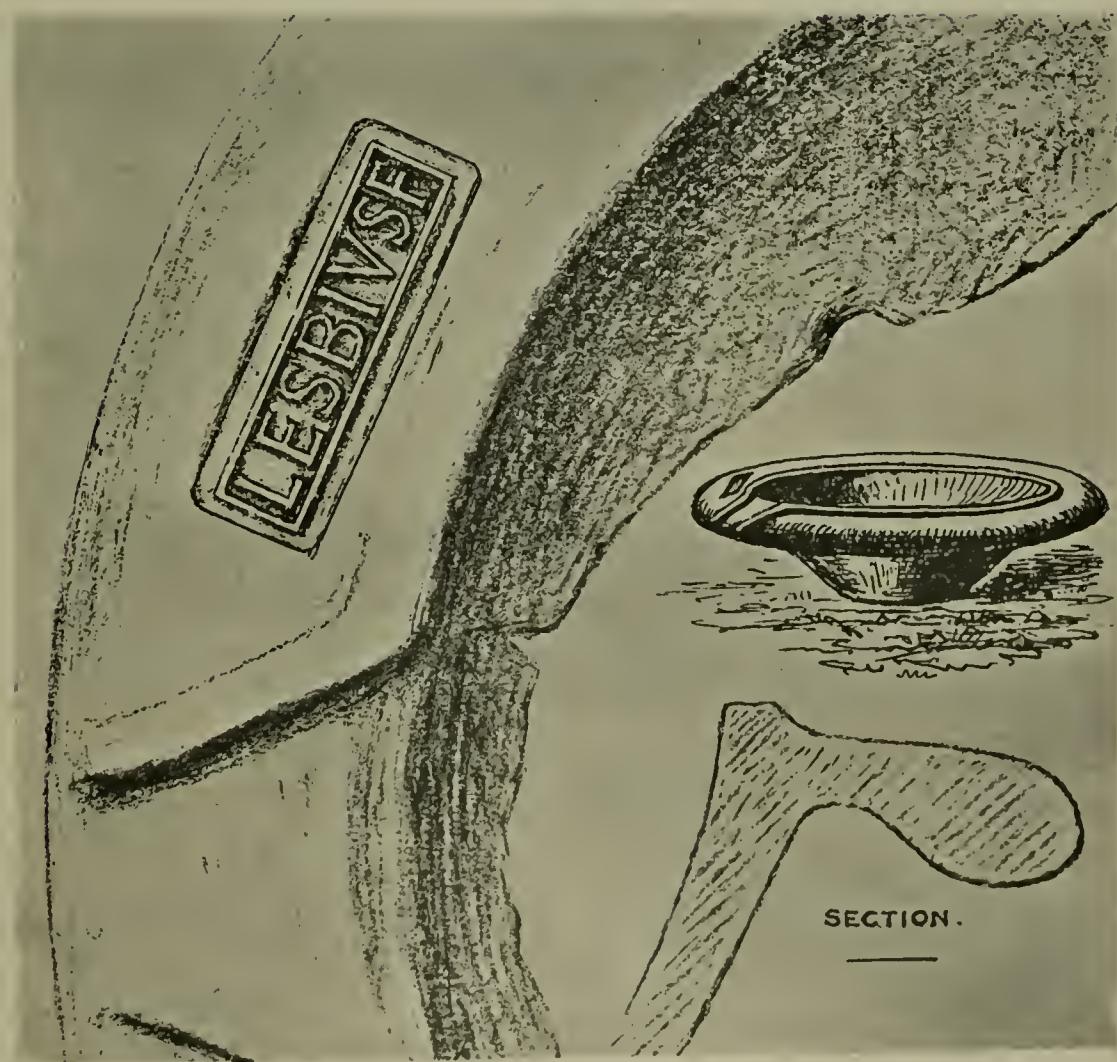


FIG. 4. TREGEAR: FRAGMENT OF A MORTARIUM WITH POTTER'S MARK, IN BODMIN MUSEUM (1). (See p. 5)



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formed a rectangle of some 260 ft. by 320 ft., in area about an acre and a half, and was girt with an earthen rampart and two ditches outside it. It is now but a low, shapeless mound. The rampart was removed—in part, rather more than a hundred years ago—to serve as top-dressing for adjacent fields, and at the same time the silt of the ditches was similarly used. In the course of the work there emerged some potsherds, including (as it seems) Samian dating from the first century (fig. 2), three copper coins of Vespasian, some bronze rings and other small objects (fig. 3). The rim of a *mortarium* or *pelvis* now in Bodmin Museum, marked in good letters *LESBIVS F*, 'Lesbius made this,' probably also came from this site (fig. 4). About the same date, early in the nineteenth century, similar discoveries seem to have been made close by, but north of the river, at Boscarne, near a 'Jew's house' and old tin streamworks. These comprised a coin of Trajan, and possibly also one of Vespasian, a bronze pendant, some early Samian and other potsherds, stone mullers, and an oaken shovel.<sup>1A</sup> Other finds have been made elsewhere in the neighbourhood. At Ruthern Bridge, a mile west of Tregear, coins of Vespasian are said to have been discovered long ago, in or near an ancient streamwork.<sup>2</sup> More recently a First Brass of Trajan was picked up in the Dunmear or Pencarrow Woods, and a *fibula* and a silver coin of Vespasian were found at Trekillick in Lanivet. Finally, three coins, 1 Vespasian, 1 Pius, and 1 of doubtful age, have occurred in Bodmin.<sup>3</sup>

The meaning of all this is plain. The 'camp' at Tregear and its neighbourhood were occupied during the latter part of the first and the early years of the second century. The inhabitants need not necessarily be considered Romans. They may have been natives who had learnt to use Roman coins and pottery. But the earthwork with its earthen rampart and double ditch suggests a fort and soldiers, or at any rate immigrant traders in need of protection. The purpose of the settlement was no doubt tin-mining. It does not appear, however, to have lasted long. Nothing indicates a later date than the first half of the second century. By that date the miners, if such they were, must have concluded, for one reason or another, that tin-streaming was not worth the while.

(b) Harlyn Bay. On the shore of Trevone and Harlyn Bays, a mile and a half west of Padstow, extensive cemeteries were found hidden under the sand-hills about 1848, and again in and after 1900. The first discoveries contained skeletons of uncertain date, buried north and south, a Roman *fibula*, possibly of the second century, and a bit of Samian near it, and also a distinct series of

<sup>1A</sup> *Gent. Mag.* 1822 (i) 353, vague and brief; *Cornish Mag.* April, 1828, iii, 96, fuller; J. Wallis, *Bodmin Register* (Bodmin 1827-36), pp. 51, 404, and *Corn. Register* (Bodmin 1847), p. 19; J. Maclean, *Trigg Minor*, i, 114, f, pl. v, fig. 1; W. Iago, *Royal Inst. Cornw. Journ.* vii, 230, x, 211, ff, and *Arch. Journ.* xlvi, 232. In 1904 I picked up Samian and other potsherds at Tregear; the eastern rampart seemed then the most distinct. Unfortunately it is not clear what coins and potsherds came from Tregear and what from Boscarne; I have assigned them as well as I could. Bodmin Museum has early Samian labelled 'Boscarne', but museum labels are fallible. Maclean says coins of Trajan, as well as Vespasian, were found in a streamwork near, not actually at Tregear, while Wallis, *op. cit.*, says that coins of Vespasian occurred at Tregear and that the Trajan came from the opposite side of the ford. The golden 'fish-hook,' said to have been found about 1822 near Boscarne, was probably bright bronze and may be of any age. See also *V.C.H. Corn.* i, 470, and Index below, pp. 32, 36.

<sup>2</sup> *Cornish Mag.* April, 1828, p. 96. This appears to be a separate find from those of Tregear and Boscarne, but it may be the same.

<sup>3</sup> For the Dunmear coin see *Royal Corn. Gaz.* 6 Aug. 1870; for the Bodmin and Lanivet finds see the Index, below.

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post-Roman burials in slate coffins. The second cemetery contained graves of various pre-Roman dates, neolithic and later, a late La Tène *fibula*, and in one grave some bronze ornaments and Roman potsherds (fig. 5): a Roman coin of Faustina Junior (died A.D. 175) was found a few inches below the surface of the ground near the burials.<sup>4</sup>

(c) St. Minver, Padstow Harbour. On the north shore of Padstow Harbour, opposite Padstow town and between the hamlet of Rock and St. Enodock Church, but nearer to the latter, and in St. Minver parish, considerable finds were made among the sandhills in and after 1848. These included copper coins of various dates (among which Third Brass of Gallienus, Constantine I, and Arcadius are mentioned); Samian and other potsherds; much glass, including one violet-coloured bit; blue and variegated

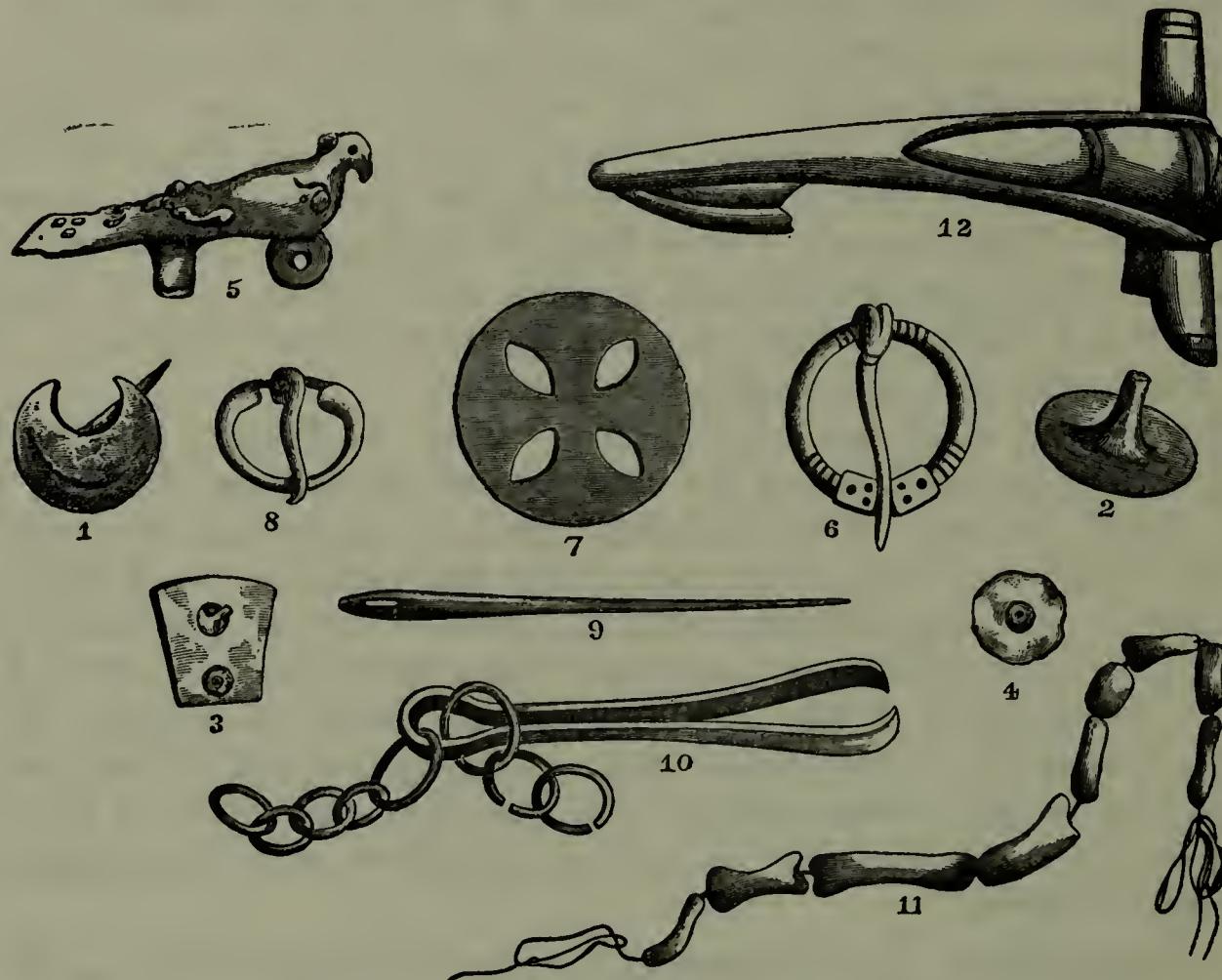


FIG. 5. PADSTOW: ROMAN ORNAMENTS AND RELICS (1) IN THE COLLECTION FORMED BY MR. THOMAS KENT, AT PADSTOW. (See above.)

glass beads; *fibulæ*, including a zoomorphic *fibula*, resembling a bird, and a penannular *fibula*; a lunula-shaped stud; bronze tweezers and chain, and other bronze fragments; a pink 'coral' necklace (fig. 5); abundant wood ashes and fused trap-rock, indicating fires; and also some cremation burials. The whole seems to represent a village, perhaps of fishers, in the later Romano-British period.<sup>5</sup>

One writer, Mr. Haslam, cites a piece to which some interest has been thought to attach. It is a 'Samian' potsherd, apparently of inferior fabric,

<sup>4</sup> For the earlier finds see Trollope, *Arch. Journ.* xvii, 312; Kent, *Brit. Arch. Assoc. Journ.* iv (1849), 394; for the later, Iago and Muller, *Royal Inst. Cornw. Journ.* xiv, 330; R. A. Bullen, *Harlyn Bay* (London, 1902), pp. 29, 60, 71 (1912), 47, 93, 107. See also *V.C.H. Cornw.* i, 366.

<sup>5</sup> Trollope, *Arch. Journ.* xvii, 312; Kent, *Brit. Arch. Assoc. Journ.* iv, 394, and *Royal Inst. Cornw. Rep.* xi (1858), p. 24, hence Maclean, *Trigg Minor*, iii, 7, 8, and Iago, *Royal Inst. Cornw. Journ.* x, 258; letter of Kent to C. R. Smith in the Fisher Collection in Exeter Museum. See also *V.C.H. Cornw.* i, 367.

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FIG. 6. TREGEAR: PLAN OF ROMAN SITE FROM ORDNANCE SURVEY, 1881, AND INSET FROM McLAUCHLAN'S PLAN WITH ADDITIONS OF SITES (A. B. C.) OF DESTROYED BARROWS, NOTED IN 1883 (see p. 4).

*Plan based upon the Ordnance Survey Map, with the sanction of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office.*

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found by Kent about 1847 on one or other of the preceding sites, and stamped with an ornament taken to be a cross and Christian monogram. This has been accepted by Haddan and Stubbs and others as a vestige of Romano-British Christianity. But the fragment (it seems) was too worn to justify any assertion about its ornament. And even if it did bear a cross, we should not be entitled to call it Christian. A cross occurs often on Samian embossed bowls as a mere ornament, and neither the Padstow piece nor a similar piece from Catterick, often cited with it, deserve to be considered Christian.<sup>6</sup>

(d) Bosence.<sup>6a</sup> In the parish of St. Erth and a few yards north of Bosence or Bossens Farm, on the top of a ridge of hill, is a field called the Rounds, containing an ancient earthwork which is still fairly well preserved. It is roughly rectangular in outline, measures internally some 150 by 135 ft., and is surrounded by a broad rampart and ditch which have apparently been widened and flattened by ploughing (fig. 7). Interesting discoveries were made here in 1756. In the north-west corner of the earthwork a circular pit or well, 36 ft. deep and (according to Borlase) only 30 in. in diameter, was then cleared out, and from it were taken various objects—at the depth of 18 ft. an inscribed tin saucer, at 24 ft. a tin jug (fig. 8), holding about four quarts, and two stones taken to be weights, and below this, many bones, pieces of leather, old boots, and the like. The tin saucer is  $4\frac{1}{2}$  in. wide at the brim and flat-bottomed. Inside is the inscription *Aelius Modestus deo Marti* round the bottom, and in the centre the letter R, of which the meaning is unknown (fig. 9). The jug is of a shape which seems to have been common in the third and fourth centuries, and the inscribed saucer, according to Sir Arthur Evans, may be referred to the same period. But without excavation of the site, it is difficult to discuss its date or character.<sup>7</sup> Pits of this sort are not uncommon and are often merely disused wells which have been filled up gradually with rubbish or (in some cases) have served as a receptacle for objects which the inhabitants did not, or could not, carry away when they abandoned the spot. They do not necessarily indicate a very long occupation of the site.

(e) Tintagel church. A Roman inscription was detected here in 1889 by the Rev. W. Iago on a stone which had served for years as the lich-stone at the south-east entrance of the Tintagel churchyard. It is a pillar of blue elvan, probably of local origin, more rectangular than round, and measuring 59 in. in length, 13 in. in breadth, and 7 in. in thickness: the front and sides have been roughly smoothed. At the top of the front is a much-worn inscription in three lines which appears to me to read MPCG VA LIC—IIV. Mr. Iago preferred VAL LIC LICIN in the second and third lines, but I cannot decipher

<sup>6</sup> W. Haslam, *Arch. Journ.* iv, 306; Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils and Eccles. Doc.* i, 39.

<sup>6a</sup> According to Mr. Jenner the name=Bos-sens, 'the Dwelling of the Saints,' i.e., of the Celtic monks.

<sup>7</sup> Borlase, *Antiq.* p. 316, with plates and a too regular plan, and more briefly Soc. *Antiq.* MS. Minutes, viii, 108. Hence *Philos. Trans.* li (1759), 13; *Gent. Mag.* 1760, 322; Lysons, p. ccxlvii; Edmonds, *Land's End*, p. 56; *Arch. Cambrensis*, 1858, p. 174; Lake, i, 364, etc.—all adding nothing. A fuller account is by W. Iago, *Royal Inst. Cornw. Journ.* x, 237. McLauchlan contributed a plan, which is rather too regular, to *Royal Inst. Cornw. Rep.* xxix (1847), 39 (see fig. 7). The text of the saucer was first read correctly by Sir Arthur Evans: see Iago, *Royal Inst. Cornw. Journ.* x, 239 ff, and myself, *Ephemeris*, vii, 812 (correcting *Corp. Inscr. Lat.* vii, 1), and *Arch. Journ.* xlvi, 230. The stone weight is said to be inscribed with the numeral X (*Corp. Inscr. Lat.* vii, 1279), but the so-called numeral is, I think, mere ornament (*Ephemeris*, vii, 1156). The jug, saucer, and two weights are now in the Ashmolean Museum, along with a thick circular leaden piece, not unlike a saucer with a large hole in the middle, which weighs 25 oz. and measures in diameter 4 in. See also *V.C.H. Cornw.* i, 470.

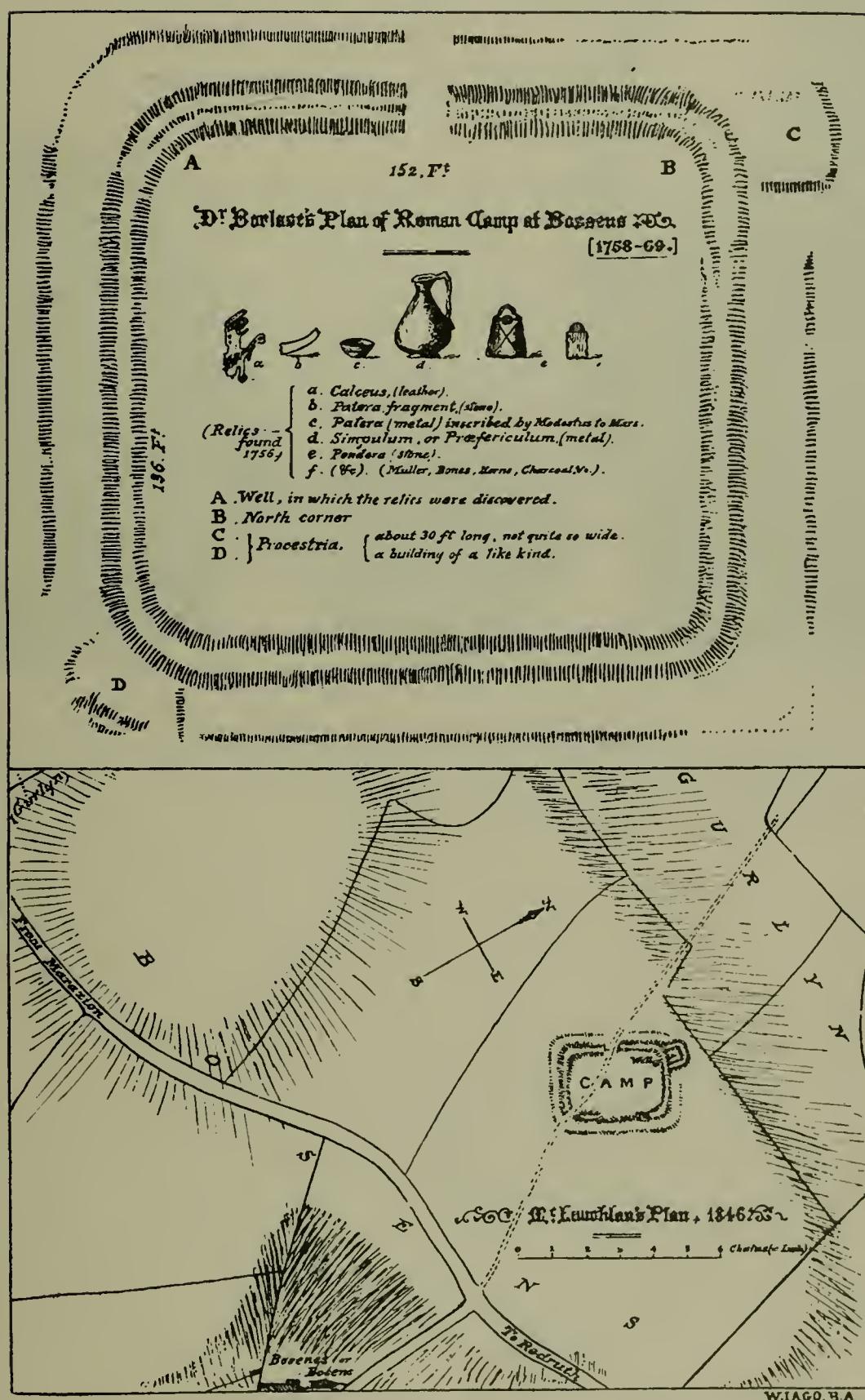


FIG. 7. BOSENCE: PLAN OF ROMAN EARTHWORK. (See p. 8)



FIG. 8. A, TIN JUG, AND B, INSCRIBED TIN SAUCER, BOTH FROM BOSENCE, NOW IN ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM. C, TIN JUG FROM CARHAYES, WHICH CONTAINED 2,500 COINS, NOW AT CARHAYES CASTLE (1).  
(See pp. 8, 12, 21, 33)



FIG. 9. GRAFFITO INSIDE TIN SAUCER FROM BOSENCE, NOW IN THE ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM (2). (See p. 8)

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this on the surface (figs. 10 and 14). The general character of the stone and the shape of the letters seem to refer it to the later Empire, that is, to the period after A.D. 250. Unfortunately, both its object and the interpretation of its text are open to doubt. The first letters .MPC suggest that it began *imperator Cæsar*: that is, it commemorated some emperor. Who the emperor was, is less obvious. Mr. Iago conjectured Licinius, contemporary of Constantine and ruler in the East, and expanded

*imp(eratore) C(æsare) G(alerio) Val(erio) Lic(iniano)  
Licin(io)*

‘in the reign of the emperor Licinianus Licinius.’

But the lettering on which he relied seems to me uncertain, and Licinius did not bear the name Galerius or any other name which could be indicated by the letter G. Perhaps, as the lettering is faint, it may be best to leave the problem open. Nor can one speak decisively about the object of the monument. In shape it resembles a roughly-made Imperial milestone as much as it resembles anything in particular. It bears, indeed, no mark of mileage. But this might be due to weathering, and in any case the later milestones often omit this detail. The chief objection to considering it a milestone seems to lie rather in the absence of any known Roman road in Tintagel parish. The same objection will meet us when we pass on to the next item, the St. Hilary inscription.<sup>8</sup>

(f) St. Hilary, near Marazion. An inscribed stone (fig. 15) was found in 1853, during the restoration of St. Hilary church, among the foundations of the chancel wall. It is a slab of local stone, a kind of granite or porphyry, about  $4\frac{1}{2}$  ft. tall, 20 in. wide, and 12 in. thick, bearing ten lines of rude letters 2-3 in. high, not easily legible throughout:—

*imp(eratore) Caes(are) Flav(io) Val(erio) Constantino Pio Nob(ili)  
Caes(are), divi Constanti Pii Aug(usti) filio.*

‘(erected) in the reign of the Emperor Flavius Valerius Constantinus (Constantine the Great), Pious, Noble Cæsar, son of the divine (i.e. dead) Constantius Pius Augustus (i.e. Chlorus).’

It was set up after Constantine had become Cæsar on his father’s death, 30 July 306, and before he had attained the higher rank, as it was then counted, of Augustus (308). The addition of the prefix *imperator Cæsar* is, strictly speaking, a usurpation, since at that period it was reserved for ‘Augusti.’ But it seems to indicate the actual position of Constantine at the opening of his reign, when he had been ‘acclaimed’ by his troops, but had not yet received the title ‘Augustus’ from the other emperors.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>8</sup> W. Iago, *Roy. Inst. Cornw. Journ.* x, 262, and *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* xiii, 11; myself, *Ephemeris*, vii, 1095; ix, p. 632, and *Arch. Journ.* xlvi, 232. The stone is now in Tintagel church, where I have examined it. I am also indebted to Mr. Iago for information and squeezes. See below, p. 28.

<sup>9</sup> First published *Cornw. Gaz.* 25 Nov. 1854; Edmonds, *Penzance Nat. Hist. Soc.* ii (1851), 291; *Arch. Journ.* xii, 283; xvii, 311 n.; J. T. Blight, *Ancient Crosses* (ed. 3), p. 73; Edmonds, *Arch. Cambrensis*, 1858, p. 176; and *Land’s End*, p. 57, hence Maclean, *Trigg Minor*, iii, 8; Barham, *Royal Inst. Cornw. Journ.* v, 366; Hübner, *Corpus Inscript. Lat.* vii, 1147, and *Ephemeris*, iii, pp. 138, 318, from the preceding; myself, *ibid.* ix, p. 632; *Brit. Arch. Assoc. Journ.* xxxix, 50 (uncritical); W. Iago, *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* xiii, 12. The text which I have given above was made by myself and Mr. J. G. C. Anderson, and is (I think) more correct than any previous version. I do not think it necessary here to cite all the small varieties of error in these earlier versions. The stone itself is now in St. Hilary churchyard. See further p. 27.

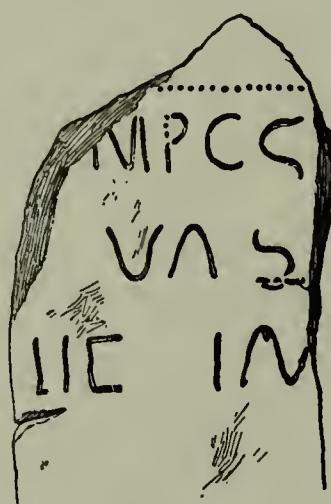


FIG. 10.

TINTAGEL: INSCRIBED  
MILESTONE NOW IN  
TINTAGEL CHURCH.

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The inscription does not stand alone. It agrees identically both with two found in North Britain, one on the Roman Wall and one on the adjacent road called Stanegate, and with some inscriptions found in Gaul. It also resembles less closely eight other inscriptions of Constantine found in Britain. The same problem arises with respect to all of these, whether they should be classed as milestones or as honorific monuments. Eight of them were found near Roman roads and ought to be milestones. On the other hand, three—the St. Hilary stone and two others—are flattish slabs, not round or square pillars such as were generally used for marking mileage. These three also come from spots where Roman roads have not yet been traced. The argument from the shape is perhaps inconclusive, since the later Empire did not adhere to the older form of milestone, but used flattish slabs indifferently with pillars. The absence of a road in the neighbourhood is more serious. For, if the shape and text of the monument be inconclusive, the site alone can determine its purpose. It might be argued that the St. Hilary stone was an honorific monument set up at Bosence a mile and a half away and brought thence when St. Hilary church was built. But here, as in the case of the Tintagel stone, we shall do best to await further evidence.<sup>10</sup>

(g) Carnanton. Not long before 1821 an ingot of tin of unique interest was found at Carnanton, in the parish of Mawgan in Pydar. According to the oldest and fullest account,<sup>11</sup> the precise find-spot was 'on the Barton of Carnanton, 2½ ft. under the surface, in swampy ground, and contiguous to what is usually called a Jew's house'—that is, an ancient smelting-house. The ingot is wedge-shaped, semicircular at the larger end, and tapering towards a point at the other; it measures 21 in. in length by 8 in. in greatest width, weighs 39½ lbs., and appears to represent only a partial filling of the mould in which it was cast. On its upper flat face it bears an inscription and a stamp, each repeated two or three times, though the blistering of the tin has made the lettering and stamp very hard to detect. The stamp shows a helmeted head with small buckler in front, very much like the Emperors' heads with shields on various fourth-century coins. The inscription has three or four letters, of which the first one or two may be D or DD, and the last two are plainly NN run together as NN (fig. 11). It is perhaps permissible to explain them as abbreviated for *dominorum nostrorum*, 'the tin of our lords the Emperors.' This formula occurs on various metal bars and ingots of the third and fourth centuries, and implies, as we should expect from the appearance here of the Emperor's head and our other knowledge of Roman mining, that the metal was Imperial property. That is, it is a government stamp, not a private trader's mark. Both stamp and lettering, as Mr. Gowland tells me, were struck on when the tin was cold. As a rule the stamps for Roman metal bars were either included in the mould in which the bars were cast or were impressed while the bar was hot. Here we seem to have an exception. It does

<sup>10</sup> See my paper in the *Sussex Arch. Coll.* xlvi, 155–162. The ten milestones alluded to are *Corp. Inscript. Lat.* vii, 1154, 1157, 1170, 1176–7, and 1188; *Ephemeris*, vii, 1111–2; a stone from Carlisle (*Trans. Cumb. Arch. Soc.* xiii, 438, *Ephemeris* ix, 1255) and a stone from Worthing (*Sussex Coll.* as above). How difficult it is to decide in these cases, may be exemplified by an instance from the 'Corpus.' That work contains a south Gaulish inscription identical with the St. Hilary stone (xiii, 581). In his text the editor hesitates to class it as a milestone: in the index the judgment is reversed.

<sup>11</sup> Thomas Hogg, *Manual of Mineralogy* (Truro, 1825), p. 75. The book is sometimes cited as by John Michell. He collaborated, but is not named on the title-page.

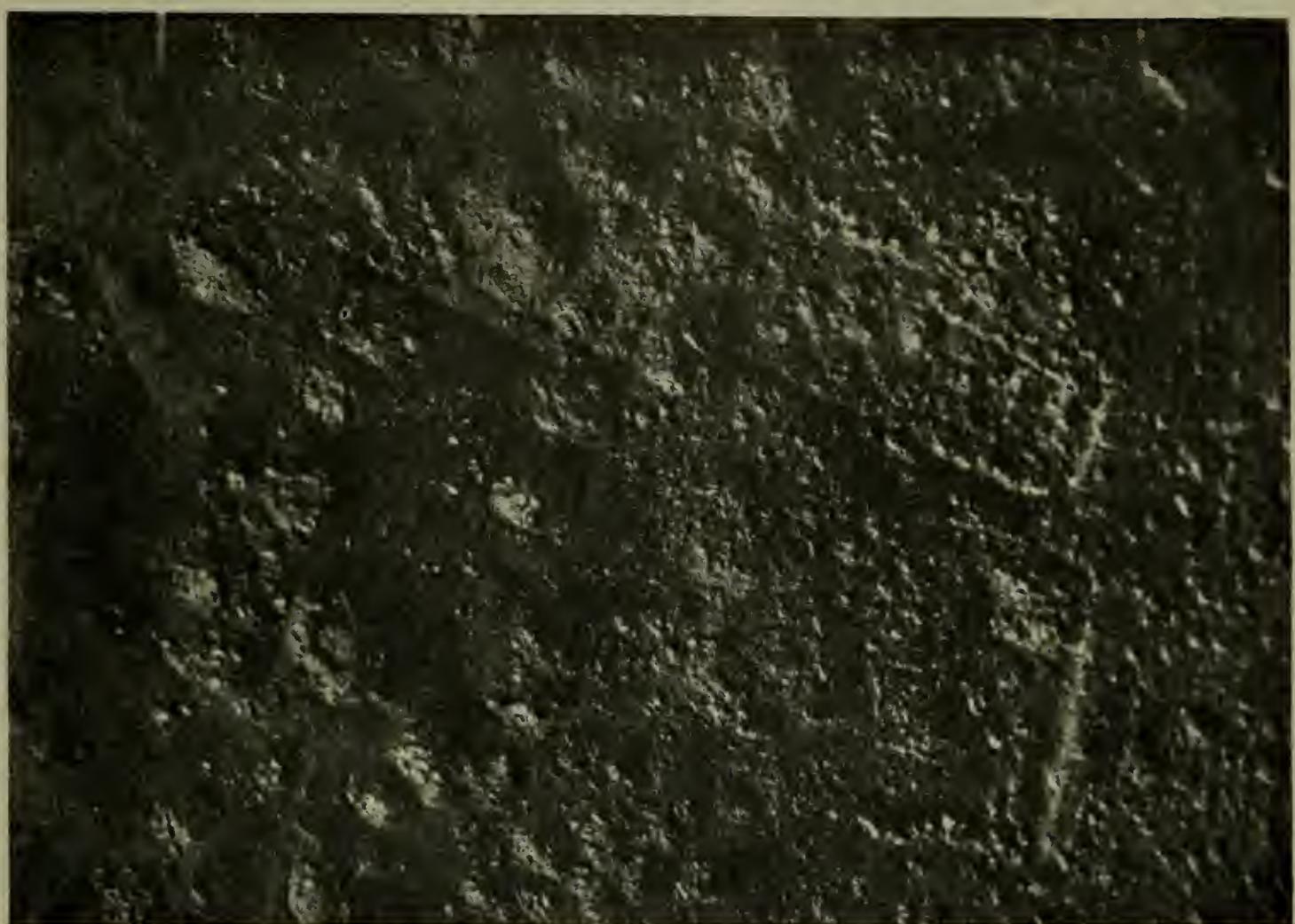


FIG. 11. CARNANTON IN MAWGAN-IN-PYDAR: INSCRIBED AND STAMPED INGOT OF TIN,  
NOW IN TRURO MUSEUM ( $\frac{7}{8}$ ). (See pp. 10, 21)

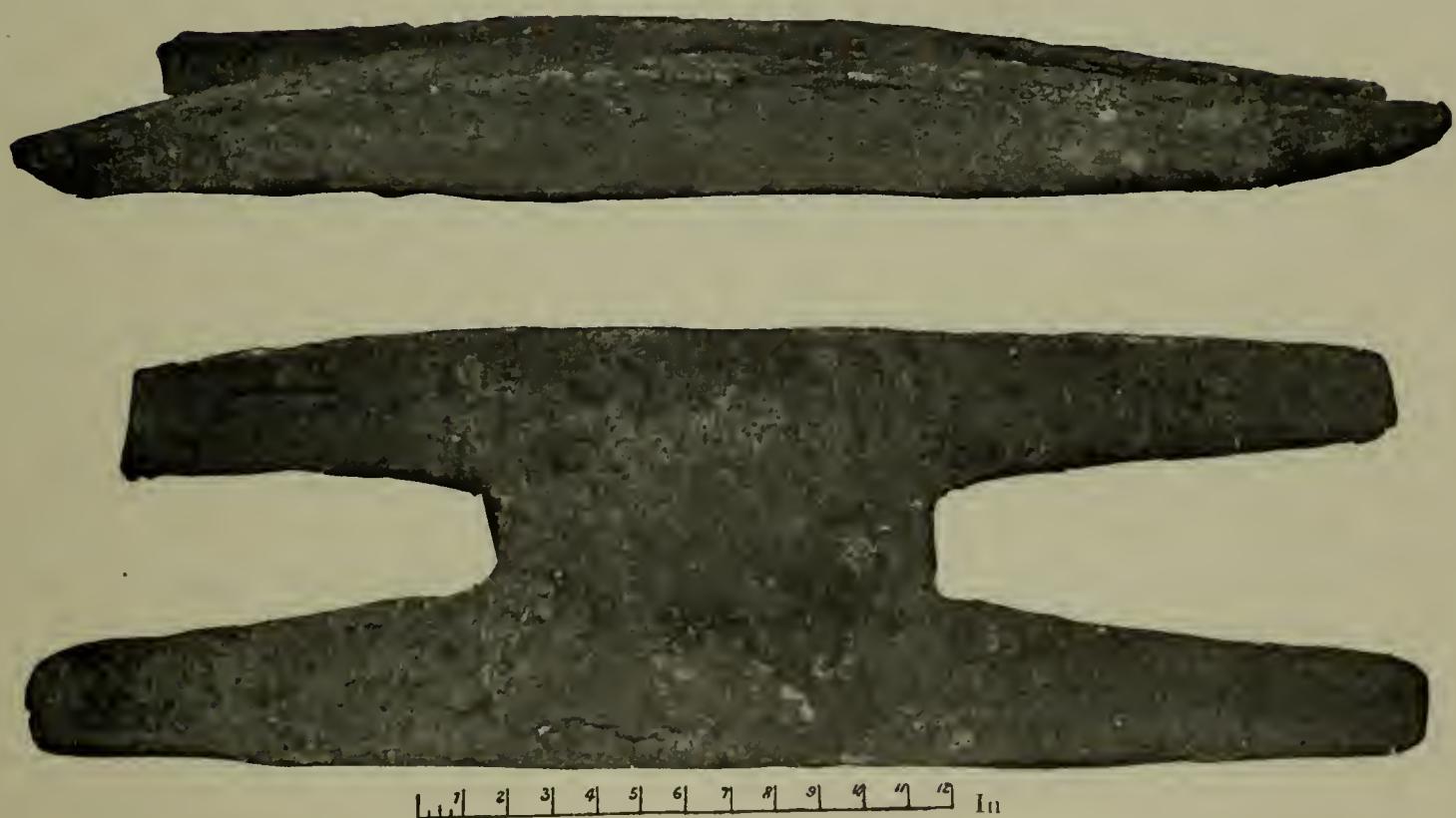


FIG. 12. FALMOUTH: TIN BLOCKS OF UNCERTAIN AGE DREDGED UP IN HARBOUR,  
NOW IN TRURO MUSEUM. (See pp. 24, 40)



## ROMANO-BRITISH CORNWALL

not, however, follow that the stamp and letters were affixed at a distance from the smelting-place. Indeed, as a Jew's house was close to the place of discovery and Roman remains have been found not far away at Treloy,<sup>12</sup> we may think that Carnanton was the spot where the tin was smelted.<sup>13</sup>

### (h) ROMAN COINS FOUND IN CORNWALL.

The preceding sections (*a–g*) have described the Cornish sites which show traces of definite, if short-lived, Romano-British occupation and the objects which deserve individual notice. I pass on to the coins and other small items which have been found for the most part sporadically. I shall include some coins already mentioned, in order to present the historical evidence deducible from the coin finds as one whole, and to enhance this evidence I shall survey similar finds made in Devon west of the Exe. The review will be a summary; the reader will find details of the Cornish coins in the Index at the end of the article.

The coins found in Cornwall fall into three groups—a very few specimens of pre-Roman date, a scanty sprinkling of Roman coins of the first two centuries, and a large supply of Roman coins of the third and fourth centuries. Only one site, I believe, has yielded specimens of all three groups, Carn Brea, the stately hill which overhangs Redruth. This strong and striking position was occupied in very early times. Late neolithic and early bronze objects have been found on it in some plenty, many hut-circles, and not a few later remains. Forty or fifty British coins of various dates were dug up here in 1749, and a Numidian coin, probably of about 140–110 B.C., is thought to have been discovered a little before 1830. For the Roman period coins are almost the only attested remains—a denarius of Vespasian, excavated in 1895 on the floor of a hut-circle; scattered coins, one each of Pius, Severus Alexander, Constantius Chlorus, and Valentinian; a small hoard of Third Brass of about A.D. 270–340 found, with a small bronze head of an animal and a small hinged and pierced cover, in a hut-circle at the foot of the hill in 1749; and some other finds not properly recorded. Presumably the hill was inhabited to some extent during most of the Roman period.<sup>14</sup>

Besides the British and Numidian coins from Carn Brea, only three coins earlier than the Roman Empire have been noted in Cornwall. These are a Roman *bigatus* of about 100 B.C. found near Helston; a Cypriote coin of 80 B.C. said to have been found about two miles from Truro on the road north towards Perranporth, and a 'massy silver coin of Syracuse' said by Shortt, the Exeter antiquary, to have been dug up in a mine at Malpas, between Truro and Falmouth. Neither of the two latter instances seems to be adequately attested, and the first, the Republican *bigatus*, belongs to a class that continued to circulate till at least the Flavian age.

Roman coins of the first two centuries are commoner. As we have already

<sup>12</sup> See Index, p. 41.

<sup>13</sup> The ingot is mentioned (but without notice of the stamp and lettering) *Royal Cornw. Inst. Rep.* v (1821), p. 16; Thomas Hogg, *Manual of Mineralogy* (Truro, 1825), p. 75; R. S. Poole, *Royal Inst. Cornw. Journ.* i (4, 1865), 9; Henwood, *ibid.* iv, 226, 252; Way, *Arch. Journ.* xvi, 39. The object is now in Truro Museum. The stamp was first noticed by myself and published *Arch. Journ.* xlix, 177, and *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* xviii, 117, and *Ephemeris* ix, 1262. I have twice examined the stamp, once with the aid of Mr. J. G. C. Anderson: the reading seems to be either DDNN or DNN.

<sup>14</sup> See further, pp. 25, 33. For the stone at Hayle, see p. 26, n. 73.

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seen, coins of Vespasian, Trajan, Pius, perhaps nine or ten at most, may be assigned to Tregear and its vicinity, and indicate a brief settlement in the late first and early second centuries; a coin of Vespasian and a coin of Pius have been found on Carn Brea, and a coin of A.D. 150-160 at Harlyn Bay. Small hoards containing first and second century coins, mixed with others of a much later date, have been noted from Constantine, Mawgan in Meneage (Chygarkie), and Stithians. The remainder can best be shown by the following table:—

Camborne: 1 Nero	St. Buryan: 1 Vespasian
Fowey: 1 Trajan	Wendron: 7, first and second centuries
Helston: 1 Trajan	Cape Cornwall: 1 Vespasian
Launceston: 1 Vespasian, 1 Domitian	St. Just (Boscaswell): Pius, and others unrecorded
Penzance: 2 Vespasian	Sancreed: 1 Pius
Perranzabuloe: 1 Nero	East Cornwall: 1 coin of A.D. 68
St. Austell: 1 Nero	

It will be observed that most of the sites are not only near the sea, but on the actual coast, and that the finds consist chiefly of single coins. It is noteworthy, too, that coins of the first century seem to be commoner than coins of the second. None of these coins seems to have been found in close connection with tin deposits (see map).

Contrast the coins of the third and fourth centuries. Carn Brea and St. Minver both supply specimens, as already pointed out. There are also many hoards, all but one of copper, and some of considerable size:—

Breage: 1600 Third Brass, about A.D. 250-273.
Budock: 1000 Second and Third Brass, about A.D. 250-305.
Camborne: some hundreds of Constantinian, mostly brass but some silver.
Carhayes: 2500 Third Brass, about A.D. 250-280, in a tin jug (fig. 8c).
Condora: 'twenty-five gallons' of small copper, about A.D. 300-340.
Hayle: some Third Brass of A.D. 260-273 and many thousands of minims.
Ludgvan: 1000 coins, some minims, some Third Brass of A.D. 250-273 and possibly later coins.
Malpas: 'twenty pounds weight' of Third Brass, about A.D. 230-285.
Morvah: number uncertain, Third Brass and a few lead, of about A.D. 250-273, found in a rudely walled enclosure.
Sennen: 300-400 Third Brass of about A.D. 250-273.
Tywardreth: number uncertain, about A.D. 250-340.
Zennor: 80 silver coins of Valentinian, Gratian, Arcadius.

Also three mixed hoards, all small:—

Constantine: 3 early coins and some 40 later, down to Valens.
Mawgan in Meneage: 4 early coins and some 200 later, down to A.D. 340.
Stithians: 1 Republican (Q. Titus, 87 B.C.), 2 denarii of Mark Antony, 3 silver and 17 bronze of Vespasian-Constantine I and 1 Constantius, possibly Constantius II.

Nor are small finds or scattered coins very rare:—

Breage: 1 Maximin (not far from the hoard noted above)	Pentewan: 1 Tetricus and others, on the beach
Carnon Streamworks: 60 minims	Pentire Pt.: 1 Sev. Alexander
Coswinsanson: 12 early 4th century	Polperro: 1 Licinius
Ethy: 4 of A.D. 258-273	St. Agnes: 1 gold Julian and 1 Valentinian
Lanhydrock: 8 late Third Brass	St. Veep: 1 Constantine Junior
Mawnan: 9 of A.D. 265-273	Sancreed: copper, of about A.D. 250-330, from various spots, including pit villages and beehive huts
Morvah: 9 Constantinian copper in an earlier barrow	Uncertain: 1 Gordian

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These coins are not only much more numerous than those of the first two centuries, they are also less peculiar to the sea-coast. The number of hoards, too, is noteworthy, and, moreover, their details are significant. Caution, however, is necessary in estimating their evidence. In general, our records of these treasures-trove are very imperfect. They do not permit us to argue rigidly, especially in respect to dates. For example, the reader will have seen that in several hoards the latest noted coins belong to Tetricus (270-273). This fact may strike him as perhaps connected with the overthrow of that ruler and his Gaulish empire by Aurelian in 273. That event certainly caused the burying of hoards in many parts of western Europe. It may well have influenced Cornwall also, if only by driving refugees thither. But there is another side to the matter. Many Third Brass hoards occur in Britain which were clearly buried, like the Carhayes deposit noted above, much later in the third century than A.D. 273. These usually include numerous coins of Tetricus. When, therefore, we know this only, concerning a hoard, that it comprised specimens of (say) Gallienus, Victorinus, and Tetricus, we may suspect that our accounts are defective, and that they name the commonest, not the latest, coins in the parcel. We cannot, therefore, conjecture that the fall of Tetricus marked an epoch for Cornwall. We may, however, draw a wider inference. Roman money evidently grew common in the peninsula, both in the interior and on the coast, from the middle of the third century onwards. The land then began to be more thoroughly pervaded by Roman influences.

We may now compare the statistics of Roman coins found in Devonshire, and in particular west of Exeter and its neighbourhood. Exeter itself abounds with coins of all periods. While a few are older than the Empire, the four centuries of the Romano-British age are represented by many hundred specimens, ranging from Claudius to Arcadius; and, among them, coins of Claudius and Nero are by no means rare. The site may have been inhabited as a tribal capital in pre-Roman days. It must have been occupied by the Romans very soon after the Claudian invasion in A.D. 43. It remained a Roman town so long as the Empire held Britain, and Roman civilization spread up to it. But west of Exeter and its neighbourhood the position is different. The recorded coins of west Devon are fewer than those of Cornwall, but in date and general distribution they present a similar picture. As in Cornwall, only one site has yielded coins alike of the pre-Roman, the early Roman, and the late Roman periods. Round the Devonshire side of Plymouth Harbour there have been discovered at various times, not merely British coins, but also some twenty or thirty Roman coins from Nero to Magnentius (A.D. 54-353). Elsewhere we meet only scattered items. Few of these belong to the first century and fewer still to the second. Almost all that are earlier than A.D. 250 are isolated specimens, and occur either on the coast or in the interior immediately west of Exeter. For the most part they can be explained by the local trade of farmers and fishermen selling their produce in the one country town of the district. Coins of the third and fourth centuries are commoner. They include some hoards, and they occur inland as well as on the coast, though the central plateau of Dartmoor has not yet yielded a single certain instance. The following lists will show the facts. They include all the Roman coins

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known to me as found in Devonshire, west of Exeter and its neighbourhood, except the Plymouth discoveries, and they are arranged in two groups (*a*) those of the first two centuries, (*b*) those of the third and fourth:—

- (*a*) Anstis Cave, Torquay: 1 Pius (or Trajan), 1 unrecorded.  
Bideford: 1 Vitellius.  
Bishop's Mochard: 4 Vespasian, 1 Nerva, 1 Trajan.  
Brixham, Berryhead: Claudius, Nero; only a few coins.  
Haldon barrows: 2 Claudius, 1 Pius, 1 Faustina: see also (*b*).  
Kingsbridge: 1 Nero.  
Newton Ferrers: 1 Nero.  
North Huish: 1 Faustina.  
Paignton: 1 Claudius.  
Poughhill, near Tiverton: 40 silver, Tiberius to Marcus.  
Revelstoke: 1 Drusus.  
Witheridge: 1 Pius.
- (*b*) Ashburton: Decius, Constantine, etc.  
Bigbury: 3rd and 4th cents. (Gallienus, Chlorus).  
Furzeleigh (Bovey): *circa* A.D. 250–270.  
Chagford: 1 Philip, Tetricus and Quintillus.  
Compton Giffard: 1,000 coins of about 250–270.  
Crediton: 1 coin of Decius.  
Haldon barrows: 1 Julia Maesa, 1 Caracalla, 1 Philip, 1 Probus: see also (*a*).  
Instow: 1 Valentinian or Theodosius.  
Kent's Hole, Torquay: 2 Valentinian.  
Kingskerswell: 2,000 coins of about 250–270.  
Okehampton: 200 Third Brass of 320–330.  
Pilton: 1 Theodosius.  
Teignmouth: 1 Carausius.

One curious feature remains to be noticed in this connexion. Among the Roman coins said to have been found in Exeter the so-called Greek 'colonial' issues of the second and third centuries of our era are strangely frequent, and not least the issues of the Alexandrian mint. Such coins hardly occur elsewhere in the west. A doubtful instance is recorded from near Totnes, another from Plymouth Harbour, another certain one from Helston, and the Exeter list includes pieces that are not Roman in any sense, but purely Greek. Some writers have connected these eastern coins with the tin trade. But their mere distribution disproves this hypothesis. They do not belong to the west country in general. They are evidently a feature of Exeter alone. The probability is that they got to Exeter by modern rather than by ancient agency.<sup>15</sup>

## (i) OTHER SMALL ROMAN OBJECTS FOUND IN CORNWALL AND DEVON.

To complete our summary of Roman remains found in Cornwall we have still to mention a few bronze objects, potsherds, and the like. The list is short; its items are not easily datable, and it is less instructive than the list of coins. For further details the reader should consult the Index (p. 32):—

- (i) A rude building (?), potsherds, ashes, charcoal, animals' bones, found at Carminow in Mawgan-in-Meneage on an arm of Loe Pool.
- (ii) Two curious burials, found at Gol Vadnek in Wendron and at Kerris in Paul, both probably exaggerated in the description.
- (iii) Some brooches, coins and rings, probably late Roman, found at Treloy near Carnanton, in old tin-workings.

<sup>15</sup> See F. Haverfield and G. Macdonald in *Num. Chron.* 1907, pp. 145–155.

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- (iv) A tin or pewter saucer found at 'Hallivick' in St. Stephen-in-Brannel parish in a streamwork (p. 24, fig. 13).
- (v) A *fibula* from 'Tregilgas Moor' in St. Ewe, dug up by tin streamers.
- (vi) A little bronze bull from St. Just-in-Penwith, often called Carthaginian, but undoubtedly Roman.
- (vii) A small piece of Samian from a subterranean dwelling at Chapel Uny, in Sancreed.
- (viii) A small piece of Samian found in Chapel Carn Brea mound in St. Just-in-Penwith, under the site of the mediæval chapel and above the prehistoric kistvaen.
- (ix) Potsherds of doubtful age, called Roman by Mr. W. C. Borlase, found in two pit-villages in St. Just-in-Penwith.
- (x) Rude potsherds found, with or near Roman coins, in beehive huts at Bodinar in Sancreed.

This throws little light on Roman Cornwall. In number and character the objects are such as might easily occur in a region that lay outside the full development of Roman civilization. Some interest attached to Nos. vii-x, the Samian and other potsherds found in subterranean dwellings. We have already seen that Roman coins have been found in, or very near, one or two such villages (p. 11). Coins, however, are in this matter less significant than potsherds. Coins were often lost or buried in barrows or caves of much older date. Pottery denotes some sort of occupation, however temporary, and its occurrence at Chapel Uny and elsewhere must be taken into account in any sketch of Roman Cornwall. But it does not necessarily denote Roman occupation. Fragments of Samian ware have been discovered in native sites as far afield as the extreme north of Scotland.

Few similar finds have been recorded from Devon. Except at Plymouth hardly a single Roman object, other than a coin, has been discovered west of the Exe. One or two items, that are possibly of Roman date, are contributed by the Torquay caves, and may be connected with Roman coins also found there. Potsherds have come to light at Bantham and at Chudleigh, a *fibula* at Ilsington, near Bovey, and a glass bead, thought to be Roman, at Watern Oke on Dartmoor. An alleged Roman bridge at King's Teignton completes the brief catalogue. In respect of the small objects, just as in respect of coins, Devonshire west of the Exe shews the same paucity of Roman remains as Cornwall, and shews it in a more marked degree.

### 3. LITERARY EVIDENCE.

The preceding paragraphs have catalogued the principal archæological remains of Roman date found in Cornwall and in West Devon. We pass now to the second part of the evidence, the references to tin contained in ancient literature. These references are many. Cornish tin is the one famous product of ancient Britain. The tin trade of the west is mentioned in literature long before Britain became a real part of the known world; it has a prominent place in many travellers' tales and, ever since those tales were first told, it has continuously vexed the curiosity of students. Its early history lies in the twilight region of things seen dimly. But the interest aroused by it is natural. Twilight is always charming, and that not least to the archæologist, whom it allows to invent theories which shall be at once novel and incapable of disproof. In this case the theories are almost all concerned with the identification of the famous tin islands of the west, the Cassiterides and Ictis. Many of them endeavour to prove that the Cassiterides are the Scilly Isles and that Ictis is St. Michael's Mount. But, in spite of all that has been written on the subject,

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the riddle still remains unsolved. Though this particular question does not really concern Roman Cornwall, it may be as well to examine it briefly.<sup>16</sup>

The Cassiterides are first mentioned by Herodotus whose contemporaries held them to be the tin islands of the farthest west, though he himself declares that he had no knowledge of them.<sup>17</sup> Later writers were more credulous. According to Diodorus Siculus, who possibly quotes Poseidonius, they lay in the Atlantic, opposite north-west Spain.<sup>18</sup> Strabo, also citing Poseidonius, says very much the same, but has in one passage a long and curious account of them, ending with a statement that Publius Crassus travelled thither and that the sea voyage was longer than that to Britain.<sup>19</sup> Mela<sup>20</sup> mentions the islands quite briefly as 'in *Celticis*.' Pliny says that they were 'ex *adverso Celtiberia*,' and owed their name to their being rich in tin.<sup>21</sup> Elsewhere he remarks incidentally that tin was first brought by Midacritus 'ex *Cassiteride insula*'.<sup>22</sup> Ptolemy estimates that there were ten Cassiterides in the farthest ocean, giving their position as  $4^{\circ}-45^{\circ}.38'$ .<sup>23</sup> Dionysius Periegetes,<sup>24</sup> to obviate the difficulties of metre, calls them 'Εσπερίδες. Lastly, the passage in Stephanus of Byzantium recording them as near India, is either corrupt or is a memory of the tin workings of Drangiana.<sup>25</sup>

It is clear that there was a general idea that the Cassiterides belonged to Spain, but lay to the north and west in the Atlantic. The tradition was known to Poseidonius and also, according to Müllenhoff,<sup>26</sup> to Timaios and Pytheas, although there is nothing to indicate that the latter used or had heard of the name Cassiterides. Later authors do not add much. Pliny and Strabo alone have anything new to give us: the former the story about Midacritus, the latter the delightful, though enigmatical, account summarized above (n. 19). The first few lines of this are evidently derived from Poseidonius,<sup>27</sup> but the greater part is, no doubt, borrowed from other sources. The most generally accepted hypothesis is that, when Cæsar's Legate, P. Crassus, was serving in Armorica and Aquitania,<sup>28</sup> he made a voyage, which is unrecorded by Cæsar, to the British 'tin islands'<sup>29</sup> or to north-west Spain.<sup>30</sup> It is curious, however, that Cæsar should pass over in silence an expedition so unusual; it is still more

<sup>16</sup> It is discussed at length by Professor Haverfield in the two articles in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopædie*, s.v. 'Kassiterides' and 'Ictis,' which have been freely drawn upon in what follows.

<sup>17</sup> Herodotus, iii., 115, οὗτε νῆσοις οἱδα Καστιτερίδας έούσας, ἐκ τῶν δικαστίτερος ήμιν φοιτᾶ.

<sup>18</sup> Diod. v, 38, ὑπεράνω γὰς τῆς τῶν Λυσιτανῶν χώρας . . . τὰς προκειμένας τῆς Ἰβερίας ἐν τῷ Ωκεανῷ νησῖδας, τὰς . . . Καστιτερίδας ὀνομασμένας.

<sup>19</sup> III, 5, 11. He says that there were ten islands, one of which was uninhabited, the others occupied by people who wore long black garments, were girded and carried staffs, and looked like the Furies in the theatre. They bartered their tin and lead for pottery, skins, salt, and metal implements. Originally, only the Phoenicians from Cadiz traded with them and they kept their route a secret. On one occasion, when a Roman ship followed a Phœnician trading vessel, the captain of the latter ran his ship on to a shoal to compass the destruction of his pursuers. In the end, however, the Romans found their way to the islands. For further references see Strabo ii, 5, 15, 30; iii, 2, 9.

<sup>20</sup> Pomponius Mela, *De situ orbis*, iii, 6, 47.

<sup>21</sup> Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* iv, 119.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, vii, 197.

<sup>23</sup> Ptolemy, ii, 6, 73.

<sup>24</sup> *Orbis Descr.* iii, 563.

<sup>25</sup> Steph. Byz., *De Urbibus* (ed. Meineke, 1849), i, 365.

<sup>26</sup> *Deutsche Altertumskunde*, i, 471.

<sup>27</sup> Zimmermann in *Hermes*, xxiii, 122.

<sup>28</sup> *De Bello Gallico*, ii, 34.

<sup>29</sup> Mommsen, *Hist. of Rome* (Dickson's Transl. 1894), v, 63; Berger, *Erdkunde* (3rd ed.), 29, 35, (4th ed.), 24, 72; Holmes, *Ancient Britain*, 498.

<sup>30</sup> Ridgeway in *Folk-Lore*, 1890, 91.

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curious that, while himself reporting the occurrence of tin in Britain, he should say that it was found in the interior of the country and not on the coast or in the islands.<sup>31</sup> Perhaps, therefore, Unger is right<sup>32</sup> in maintaining that the Crassus mentioned by Strabo was the well-known governor of Spain (c. 95 B.C.), and that it was he who opened up the tin mines for the benefit of Rome. The fundamental difficulty attaching to both views is the geographical one. There is no archipelago that would fit Strabo's description even tolerably well. In point of fact, tin islands having a reasonable resemblance to the Cassiterides are sadly to seek. The only possible groups are the small islands off the north-west coast of Spain and the Scilly Isles. Of these the former contain no tin.<sup>32A</sup> The latter possess very little tin<sup>33</sup> and, although they are easily visible from the Land's End, it would have been as impossible to discover them as the Spanish islands without immediately observing the mainland. Again, despite their frequent mention, despite the visit of a Roman general, and despite the precision of Ptolemy's measurements, the exact position of the Cassiterides remains unknown. During the whole of the Imperial period they were visited by no one. Only one explanation is possible. The Cassiterides can be nothing more than a name—the oldest legendary name for the western European tin districts, whether in Spain or in Cornwall or elsewhere. The Greeks of the fifth to second centuries B.C. knew that tin was obtained thence by sailors, possibly Phoenicians from Cadiz. In this way arose the legend of the mysterious islands.<sup>34</sup> Later, when Spain and Britain became better known, and their wealth of tin was exploited, the deep-rooted legend survived. Thus the geographers of c. 150 B.C. to A.D. 150, finding three tin districts mentioned in their authorities, and knowing only of two, Spain and Britain, simply took it for granted that the third was also authentic.

Consideration of the etymology of the word, Cassiterides, leads to the same conclusion. The question is obscure and difficult. But, on the whole, it seems probable that the name *καστιτέρος* came to Europe from the east, the original centre of the manufacture of bronze, of which tin is, of course, a component; that it was first given to the metal as found there; and that from the metal it spread to the district in the far west, whence tin was in later times derived.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>31</sup> *De Bello Gallico*, v, 12. The passage seems to be genuine in spite of Klotz *Caesarstudien* (1910), 45 ff. The statement about the tin may also be explained by the fact that tin was sometimes brought from Cornwall by land to Kent for export thence. Evans, *Anc. Brit. Coinage*, 22.

<sup>32</sup> *Rhein. Mus.* xxxviii, 164.

<sup>32A</sup> Opposite Vigo. E. Green, *Cornwall and the Early Tin Trade* (Bath, 1917), p. 15.

<sup>33</sup> W. Pryce, *Mineralogia Cornubiensis* (1778), p. iv.

<sup>34</sup> The puzzle of the Cassiterides has no doubt been complicated by the belief of the ancients that north-western Spain and south-western Britain were close together.

<sup>35</sup> The word is not primitive Greek. It may have originated in Babylonia; possibly, as has recently been suggested (Hüsing, *Oriental. Lit. Zeitung*, 1907, 25; Pokorny, *Zeitschr. für celt. Philol.* ix, 164), it is connected with the Elamite tribe, Cassi. Geographically, it would fit well if an Elamite word for tin formed the original both of the Greek *καστιτέρος* and of the Sanskrit *kastira*, though the latter is an unusual word for tin and does not occur in literature. It is generally believed that copper and bronze were known much earlier in western Asia and in Egypt than in Europe. Bronze was extensively used in western Asia before the end of the third millennium B.C., and tin has been found in western Asia, both in Armenia and in north-east Persia, (the Khorassan, the ancient Drangiana). In Europe, on the other hand, the common use of tin in the Aegean lands hardly began before the second millennium B.C., and the working of the Cornish and Spanish tin deposits seems to have begun equally late, only, in fact, when civilization developed in the Mediterranean.

At the same time it is fair to say that there are Celtic scholars (Reinach in *L'Anthropologie*, 1892, p. 275; D'Arbois de Jubainville, *Les Celtes depuis les temps les plus anciens*, p. 20) who would explain Cassiterides as an old Celtic name for the British Islands (=either the 'distant' or the 'fortunate' islands), the metal taking

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The island of Ictis is equally impossible of identification. It is described by Diodorus Siculus and Pliny,<sup>36</sup> both probably quoting Timaios, as lying off Britain. Tin in ingots (the former says) was conveyed to it from the mainland in wagons for export, access being obtained at low tide. As Diodorus evidently puts the island in the neighbourhood of Belerion (West Cornwall), it is generally identified with St. Michael's Mount, which is, in point of fact, a peninsula when the tide is out. Others suppose it to be the Isle of Wight which, in prehistoric times, was joined to Britain by a natural causeway.<sup>37</sup> But the Isle of Wight lies at a great distance from Belerion, and the similarity of the names Ictis and Vectis,<sup>38</sup> the latter the name of Wight in Roman times, seems to be no more than a curious coincidence, while the supposed causeway is quite unproved and highly improbable.<sup>39</sup> Others have suggested Thanet, or even islands that are not British at all.<sup>40</sup> The name may perhaps be connected with Icht or Ictium Mare, the Irish name for the sea between Gaul and the British Islands.<sup>40A</sup> On such evidence it is impossible to be more definite, while to continue further the search for these lost islands would be idle. It is more profitable to pass from twilight to full day, and to trace the fortunes of the famous or fabulous trade after Rome had conquered Britain.

The literary evidence, it will be seen, is distinct and unanimous. As was long ago observed by the geographer Mannert,<sup>41</sup> the classical authors very frequently refer to British tin in pre-Roman times, and hardly ever allude to it in Imperial times. The writers of the Roman Republic, Poseidonius, as quoted by Diodorus Siculus and by Strabo, Julius Cæsar and others, mention this tin freely enough. But Strabo, writing of his own time, is silent regarding it. Pliny the Elder, who composed his *Natural History* about A.D. 70-79, is equally silent. He speaks of tin often enough, but he gives north-west Spain as the place of origin.<sup>42</sup> He also has much to narrate about Britain, but he nowhere hints that tin came thence. In fact, he cites Timaios in such a way as to imply that he definitely considered tin was not one of the products of Britain. Tacitus and Solinus and the later Panegyrists furnish the same negative evidence, and there is probably not a single writer of the Roman Empire who makes a quite certain reference to British tin. The silence may,

its name from the place, as copper from Cyprus. In that case, the name would be later than the arrival of the Celts on our shores, an event usually dated c. 800 B.C. Thus, if the word is Celtic, it can hardly have reached the Mediterranean much before the first Olympiad, and it is difficult to believe that the passages in Homer which mention it are so late as that.

<sup>36</sup> Diodorus Siculus, v, 22; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* iv, 104, cap. xvi. (xxx). But, when Pliny says that it takes six days sailing to reach it, he seems to be confusing it with Thule, which he mentions immediately before, cf. Müllenhoff, *Deutsche Altertumskunde* (1890), i, 472.

<sup>37</sup> Clement Reid, *Archæologia* lix, 281.

<sup>38</sup> Vectis never appears without the initial V or W. See further, *V.C.H. Hants*, i, 325, and Rhys, *Celtic Britain* (1904), p. 304.

<sup>39</sup> Unquestionably the Isle of Wight was, in the later geological period, joined to south-west Hampshire but it is incredible that even the last traces of this junction could have formed a causeway dry at low tide in Timaios's day. Nor is there in this part of the island a proper harbour for tin ships, which could, indeed, have started more easily from many mainland ports.

<sup>40</sup> Siret, *L'Anthropologie*, 1908, p. 129. But Richborough, probably an island at high tide in the early Roman period, is more probable than Thanet.

<sup>40A</sup> Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie*, s.v. 'Icht.'

<sup>41</sup> *Geographie der Griechen und Römer* (Leipzig, 1822), ii, 11, p. 104. Elton, *Origins of Eng. Hist.* (1890), p. 34.

<sup>42</sup> *Nat. Hist.* xxxiv. 16, 156.

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in part, be literary contempt for a humble metal or literary indifference to the distinction between *plumbum album* or *candidum*, which is tin, and *plumbum*, which is lead. But Pliny distinguishes the two metals and speaks of both British lead and Spanish tin. According, then, to our literary evidence, Roman tin during the Empire came from Spain and not from Cornwall. In point of fact, we must descend to the year A.D. 600, and consult the life of an eastern saint, before we meet with a real notice of British tin. According to the contemporary biographer of John the Almsgiver, an Alexandrian seaman sailed to Britain with corn, relieved a famine, and returned with a cargo of tin. Doubtless the corn had sold well, and the seaman, or at least the biographer, ascribed the timely voyage to the interposition of the Saint.<sup>43</sup> But the tin is not described as a strange or novel cargo, and we may think that others also traded in it without saintly aid. The Alexandrians of that age traded widely, and the Byzantine reconquests in Africa and Spain (A.D. 552–623), which included Atlantic ports, may well have facilitated direct intercourse between the Levant and the lands of the Western Ocean. It is the last that we hear of Cornish tin in antiquity.

So far then as the literary evidence goes, the history of Cornish tin begins with romance and ends with a legend. The archæological evidence, which we have already marshalled, is less known. But it is more noteworthy. It gives us some positive facts, and is singularly distinct in its purport. It partly confirms and partly corrects the silence of the literature: it confirms for the first two or three centuries of our era, it corrects for the fourth. What follows sums up the combined result.

### 4. SKETCH OF ROMAN CORNWALL.

The evidence that we have reviewed will enable us to attempt a sketch of Roman Cornwall. We can advance some statements as to the course of the Roman Conquest, the extent to which the district was developed, and the character of its one possible industry, the tin trade. Cornwall, it is plain, was actually annexed by the Romans. That is proved by the inscriptions such as those of Tintagel, St. Hilary, and Carnanton (figs. 10, 11, 14, 15, 16, 17), with their emperors' names, and by the imperial head on the last. No such inscriptions would be conceivable in a district which did not form part of the Empire. Camden, therefore, and various writers after him, are wrong in asserting that the Romans never conquered Cornwall. We cannot even accept the view of a writer on metallurgy that the Roman power touched only the coast, and that the natives of the interior merely carried on a friendly intercourse with the Roman settlements there.<sup>44</sup> So far as our evidence goes, Cornwall was as much a portion of the Empire as the rest of what is now England and Wales.

The conquest did not, however, follow directly on the first landing of the Roman armies in A.D. 43. All that we know of the Roman remains in Somerset and Devon shows that the Romans quickly overran the south-west as far as

<sup>43</sup> Leontius, *Vita. S. Ioannis Eleemosynarii*, c. 9, in Migne, *Patrol. Graec.* xciii, 1625, *Acta Sanctorum*, iii, 115 (Paris, ed. 1863)=23 January; Gelzer, *Hist. Zeitschr.* xxv, 1 ff, and *Leontios von Neapolis* (Freiburg, 1893).

<sup>44</sup> Gowland in *Arch.* lvi, 299.

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Exeter. The lead mines on Mendip were being worked by A.D. 49<sup>45</sup>, and Exeter itself must have become a Roman town almost as soon. But no great effort was made to advance west of the Exe. Plainly the Romans of the conquest period did not care to march beyond Exeter; it was in itself a natural stopping place, for west of it stretched for sixty miles the gloomy *massif* of Dartmoor and the desolate wastes of Bodmin; the Romans found nothing to attract them in the moors and coasts of Devon and Cornwall. Yet there was tin in that barren land and, had the tin seemed worth the conquering, the Romans would assuredly have gone forward. They mined the Mendip lead within six years of their landing; they would not have neglected the tin of Cornwall. In prehistoric and pre-Roman times the tin trade of south-western Britain was probably considerable.<sup>46</sup> As we have seen, it was probably not so great as the trade of north-western Spain. But it is mentioned by ancient writers, and it was undoubtedly one of the objects which lent importance to the trade routes across Gaul, leading from the Atlantic to the Mediterranean. We might even conjecture that it had some share in causing the Roman annexation of Gallia Narbonensis in 120 B.C. This annexation was, as it seems, a bit of land-grabbing, inspired by the capitalists and commercial men of Rome, and it secured precisely that trade route by which Diodorus Siculus tells us that British tin reached the Mediterranean, that is, the route from Narbo by the Pass of Carcassone and Toulouse to Bordeaux, or perhaps Corbilo, at the mouth of the Loire.<sup>47</sup> And although, despite statements to the contrary, no vestige of Phœnician traders has ever been found in Britain, yet native pre-Roman objects have come to light in Cornish tin-works, while tin was discovered in the Iron-Age village of Glastonbury, and tin was used for British money.<sup>48</sup>

The trade, however, appears to have come to an end about the beginning of the Christian era. Cæsar is the first writer who mentions it as a contemporary product. The silence of later authors must be put beside the halt of the Romans at Exeter. Perhaps, as iron took the place of bronze in many lands, tin was no longer in such demand. Or perhaps tin ores had never been so rich as fancy painted, or the accessible Cornish tin-streams may have seemed to be exhausted, or, as Professor Ridgeway thinks, Spanish competition may have ousted British tin.<sup>49</sup> Our evidence does not tell us the causes, but the result is plain. The Cornish tin-trade vanished before A.D. 50. In the later years of the first century some attempt was made, with or without the aid of troops, to revive the tin-working near Bodmin and in Penwith, but even that died away in the second century. The growing Romanization which we can trace in other parts of Britain about the years A.D. 80-100, affected Cornwall but briefly and little. Cornwall was doubtless regarded as part of the province, but it was neglected. No roads were made through it. No towns

<sup>45</sup> *V.C.H. Somerset*, i, 338

<sup>46</sup> *Archæologia* xlix, 189; ix, 187; xvi, pl. 10, p. 137; lvi, 295 ff and below p. 18 n. 64, 25, s.v. 'Carn Brea.'

<sup>47</sup> Diodorus Siculus, v, 22, 2, 38, 5. Corbilo is connected by Polybius with Massilia and Narbo and with Britain, and is said by Strabo (iv, 2, 4, and 5, 2) to have formerly been an emporium. Anderson, *Furneaux's Agricola of Tacitus*, p. 179 n. See also a review of Bushe-Fox's *Report on the Hengistbury Head Excavations in Man.* 1916, p. 45.

<sup>48</sup> *Brit. Assoc. Report*, 1905, p. 10; Evans, *Ancient British Coinage*, p. 123 f. Bulleid and Gray, *The Glastonbury Lake Village*, pp. 30, 244, 393 ff. See Index below, under 'St. Austell' and 'Treloy.'

<sup>49</sup> *Folk-Lore* 1890, p. 82 ff.

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nor villas were built in it. No troops were quartered in it. No real civilization crept into it. Coins of this period are even rarer west of the Exe than coins of the earlier emperors. There may have been a few isolated searchers for tin. Traders may have pushed round the coast from Plymouth, which was in some sense an inhabited site.

External evidence is equally scanty. If tin were freely mined in Cornwall we might expect to find in Britain abundance of tin and pewter objects.<sup>50</sup> There is probably not one such which can be dated so early. About the middle of the third century the picture changes. In the first place, we have evidence to show that about this time the Roman occupation of Cornwall began to grow more real. We find, indeed, no Romanized towns or villas, only two or three villages. But coins become frequent and inscriptions seem to indicate road-making, or at least the existence of roads, in the mid-third or early fourth centuries, and roads imply official action; a block of tin emerges to testify that tin was really mined during the later Roman period (Fig. 11). The ingot seems to show that this mining was officially recognized: very likely the mines belonged to the government. Now, too, objects of tin and pewter or some other similar alloy become common. The tin jug containing a hoard of third-century coins has already been mentioned.<sup>51</sup> Another with a hoard of Gratian was found at East Harptree in Somerset.<sup>52</sup> Inscribed slabs of pewter, dredged out of the Thames near Battersea at various times, are dated by the Christian monogram and the name Syagrius to the fourth century, and probably to the end of it.<sup>53</sup> At a Roman villa in Hampshire (Weyhill) a set of handsomely ornamented tin and pewter dishes was discovered buried under a floor, and one of the dishes bore the Christian 'Chi-Rho.'<sup>54</sup> A similar set was found at Manton near Marlborough in 1884 with coins of Julian and Honorius.<sup>55</sup> Pewter vessels were discovered in the well of a villa at Brislington in Somerset,<sup>56</sup> while others have turned up in Suffolk, Cambridgeshire,<sup>57</sup> and elsewhere. In fact, most of the datable tin or pewter or kindred objects which have been discovered in Roman Britain seem to belong to the late third or fourth century. It is not unreasonable to connect this with the other facts which have been adduced, and to ascribe it to a revival of the Cornish tin trade. No hard and fast rule can be laid down in such a case. Metal objects were durable; some, too, of our undated examples may be older than the period just mentioned, and such vessels (if such there be) may again be of native manufacture or imported. But the known facts harmonize with one another in a way which it would be exceedingly rash to neglect.

This revival of tin trading in Cornwall is historically by no means improbable. As a general rule it is true that the mining industry suffered severely during the troubles of the third century throughout the Empire. But in districts which were not like Dacia, definitely abandoned, or exposed

<sup>50</sup> The inscribed 'lamella stannea' described in *Corpus Inscript. Lat.* vii, 140, may be of the first century, but it is made of lead, not tin (Bathurst and King, *Antiquities of Lydney Park*, p. 45).

<sup>51</sup> See p. 12 and below p. 33 under 'Carhayes.'

<sup>52</sup> *Num. Chron.* 1888, p. 24 f.

<sup>53</sup> *Ephemeris Epigraphica* ix, 1263, p. 642; *Arch. Journ.* xl ix, 185.

<sup>54</sup> *Archæologia* lvi., 7 f. *V.C.H. Hants*, i, 297. The vessels are now in the British Museum.

<sup>55</sup> *Ephemeris Epigraphica* vii, 1154. The set is now in the Devizes Museum.

<sup>56</sup> *V.C.H. Somerset*, i, 305, fig. 65.

<sup>57</sup> *V.C.H. Suffolk*, i, 298, 309, pl. p. 312. Fox, *Archæology of the Cambridge Region*, p. 216, pl. xxv.

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specially to barbarian invasions, the fourth century saw a revival. For instance, the tin of north-west Spain was worked in the later Empire.<sup>58</sup> In Britain, in the Mendip region, faint signs appear of a more active life than had obtained for a hundred years, and the activity must have concerned the lead.<sup>59</sup>

Sir Arthur Evans has drawn attention to the great hoards of Roman silver coins of the middle and latter part of the fourth century, or even the beginning of the fifth, found in the Mendip region.<sup>60</sup> He argues that, since the district is otherwise poor, the prosperity to which they testify must be connected with mining carried on for the sake of the silver extracted from the lead. He points out that hoards of this date are rare on the continent, and also shows that the London mint inaugurated for all metals by Carausius and Allectus at the end of the third century, and continued for copper to 326, was reopened for silver by Valentinian I and his colleague, c. 386, and was still in use under Magnus Maximus. It would further appear probable that the mint was occupied very largely in assaying, weighing, and certifying bars and ingots for which the legal equivalent was given in current coin needed for the payment of wages, and that even after the London mint was closed, apparently in 388, the Treasury there remained open for the issue of stamped silver ingots under Honorius and Constantine III.<sup>61</sup>

However this may be, it appears that the period 250-330 was the most prosperous in Roman Cornwall. At last, it would seem, Cornish tin takes its place as an article of commerce in the Roman world, or at least in Roman Britain. It is a strange spectacle. Here, on the farthest limit of the world, in an obscure corner of the Empire, a mining industry begins to expand at a time when other industries are contracting and when mining in general was about to vanish wholly. Shall we call our Cornish evidence defective? Perhaps we may be saved from that counsel of despair by scattered facts which suggest that Britain enjoyed unostentatious prosperity at the end of the third and during the first half of the fourth centuries. Then, certainly, its towns and villas seem to have been fully inhabited, and new villas were perhaps being built. Then, also, as the panegyrist Eumenius tells us, Britain abounded with artisans who could be sent to build at Autun and elsewhere in Gaul,<sup>61A</sup> and, as a later writer adds, she could export large quantities of corn to Lower Germany.<sup>62</sup> Perhaps, too, we can trace then effective administration. It was probably Constantius Chlorus who, about A.D. 300, organized the forts of the Saxon shore: it was he, or some ruler who lived near his time, who built or rebuilt forts at Cardiff and elsewhere. The many milestones of Constantine the Great and his contemporaries, which occur all over Britain, near Hadrian's Wall, on the South Welsh coast and so forth, may not all indicate road-making: some of them indeed might be memorial slabs rather than milestones. But they prove that the places where they occur were effectively held, and these places include the coasts and the northern frontier.

<sup>58</sup> *Archæologia*, lix, 311 ff.

<sup>59</sup> *V.C.H. Somerset*, i, 339.

<sup>60</sup> *Num. Chron.* 4th ser. xv, 1915, pp. 433 ff.

<sup>61</sup> It is not impossible that the importance of London in the fourth century, emphasized recently by the discovery of a fine gold medal near Arras (*Arethuse*, Florange, Paris, 1924, i, 45, pl. vii), was in some measure due to the silver-mining activity necessitated by the requirements of the Gaulish mints.

<sup>61A</sup> Eumenius *Paneg. Constantio Cæsari*, xxi.

<sup>62</sup> Ammianus, xviii, 2, 3; cf. Zosimus, iii, 5.

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This prosperity did not last. Before 350 the Emperor Constans had to cross the Channel and drive back the Picts. After 369 aid was often and more urgently needed and, as coins testify, the British villas then began to be abandoned as unsafe, or to be pillaged and burnt. In the obscurity which soon falls deep on the history of Britain, the story of the cargo of tin in the early seventh century illuminates Cornwall. It seems to show that tin mining was still carried on here at this day. It can be set beside other facts which suggest that the south-west corner of Britain remained free from the violence of the barbarians, or was able to offer greater resistance, and that here the tradition of the Roman Empire lasted longer than in other parts of the island. But more probably this should be attributed to the geographical character and position of Cornwall than to the tin trade.<sup>63</sup>

The tin grounds occupied or worked by the Romans, if work them they did, were those of west Cornwall: the Penwith area, and possibly some nearer the Land's End, the Helford valley, Camborne, Truro, the Porthluney valley, the Fowey and Camel valleys. East of these two rivers Roman remains are less numerous. Dartmoor and East Cornwall appear to have been neglected by the Romans. In the mediæval period, however, the tin of these districts was freely worked; it is said, indeed, that in general the earliest mediæval workings were in the Dartmoor region, and that the farther west these workings lie from Dartmoor the later they are.<sup>63A</sup> The probable explanation is that the richest stream deposits, which naturally were the first to be worked by man, were those of the extreme west; they also lay near to the coast, and transport was thus easy. But possibly they were exhausted before the mediæval age, and it became necessary to work the less accessible stream and alluvial deposits to the east. As these in their turn ceased to be productive, it would become worth while to work over once more the old areas and even to follow from the surface the alluvial deposits, though proper underground mining is a comparatively modern development.

Of the details of this tin mining we know nothing. A few objects have been discovered in ancient streamworks. The accounts of their provenance are far too vague to teach us much. In general we possess no kind of evidence that these streamworks are Roman in origin. Cornwall has been turned over and over during the Middle Ages and in modern times by tin miners, and Roman remains may easily have made their way into recent débris. Moreover, the exact circumstances of the finds are very seldom reported. Observations have still less often been made by competent persons. If our accounts are correct, a pre-Roman coin was found in a tin mine at Malpas.<sup>64</sup> Roman coins of the first century were found in the Carnon works, a pewter vessel of probably late shape was dug up in tin works at Hallivick near St. Austell<sup>64A</sup>

<sup>63</sup> It is noticeable that the Penwith country, one of the most active of the Roman tin areas, contains many possible Arthurian place-names which seem not to be derived from the mediæval legends and romances, though there is nothing to show how old they are. Jenner "History in Cornish Place-names," *Royal Cornwall Polytechnic Soc.* 1912, and *Royal Inst. Cornw. Journ.* xix, 46 ff. T. Taylor *Celtic Christianity in Cornw.* (1916) p. 129 f; cf. also Haverfield *Roman Occupation of Britain* (1924) p. 270 ff.

<sup>63A</sup> *V.C.H. Cornw.* i, 542.

<sup>64</sup> Shortt, *Sylva Antiqua Iscana* (Exeter 1841), pp. 88, 102, but his account is not very reliable. See *Num. Chron.* 1907, pp. 145, ff. For pre-Roman objects found in streamworks, see Borlase, p. 311, *V.C.H. Cornwall*, i, 356 and p. 15 above, and p. 24 below s.v. 'St. Austell.' For the Late Celtic armlet found at Trenoweth, see *Archæologia* xvi, 137, *Proc. Soc. Antiq. (ser. 2)*, iv, 493.

<sup>64A</sup> See Index, s.v. Carnon, Hallivick; cf. also Lanivet, Pentewan, Ruthern Bridge, St. Buryan, St. Ewe.

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(fig. 13), and so forth. It is not unlikely that these statements may be true. But without the means of testing them we can hardly make them the basis of precise arguments.

Nor is it permissible to fill the gap by adducing the large number of uninscribed blocks of tin that have occurred in Cornwall, as if they were Roman. Pieces of 'Jews'-House tin,' as it is styled, can be cited from most tin-bearing parts of Cornwall.<sup>65</sup> The inscribed block in Penzance Museum often cited as Roman is almost certainly mediæval, or later. The device on it bears no resemblance to anything Roman, and is exactly like some of the known marks of mediæval and modern merchants in the west country. The astraga-

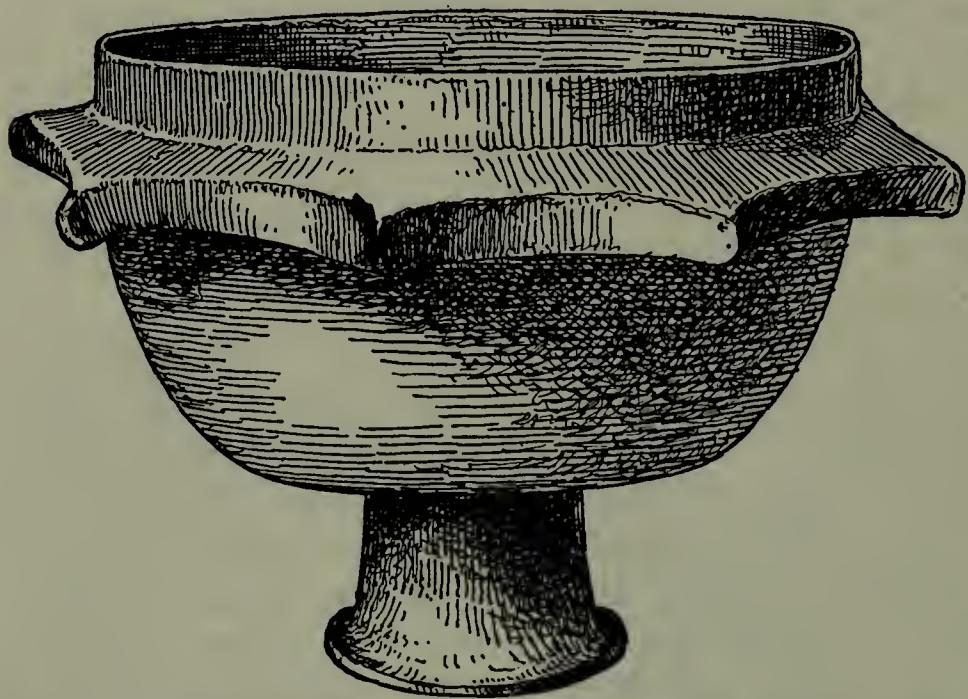


FIG. 13. HALLIVICK, NEAR ST. AUSTELL: TIN OR PEWTER VESSEL FOUND IN A STREAMWORK IN 1793, NOW IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM. HEIGHT,  $4\frac{1}{2}$  IN.; DIAMETER AT THE MOUTH,  $5\frac{1}{2}$  IN.; DIAMETER AT BASE,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  IN. (Supp. 18, 27.)

loid block dredged up in Falmouth Harbour and preserved in Truro Museum (fig. 12) is really undatable,<sup>66</sup> and until some definite criterion of its age is discovered we must content ourselves with the confession that it may be of any age. And we must do the same with several other ingots of tin. Had we abundant and certain remains of Roman mining, these ownerless, undatable pieces might excusably be connected with it. They cannot be adduced to prove it.

Finally, the question arises, what was the civilization of Cornwall in Roman times? The abundance of late coins proves a population, but it contrasts curiously with the paucity of other relics. Indications of settled life are few. We have seen that such occur only at Plymouth, Tregear (for a limited period), Padstow, Bosence (also, perhaps, for a limited time), and presumably on Carn Brea. The coins show that men must have lived in other parts of Cornwall. But of their houses and habits, of their comfort and wealth and education, even of their burial customs, we know nothing. It has, indeed, been conjectured that they dwelt in the beehive huts and subterranean chambers and hut-circles that can still be traced on Carn Brea and on the downs of west Cornwall. The conjecture may seem to obtain some confirmation from the cases where Roman remains have been discovered within these rude villages. Unfortunately, these are not so well substantiated as one could wish. Chapel Uny, in Sancreed, is probably the only authenticated instance. Elsewhere we are dealing with coins that may well be secondary to the barrow or

<sup>65</sup> Henwood, *Royal Inst. of Cornw. Journ.* iv, 251 f.

<sup>66</sup> See Index s.v. St. Mawes and Trereife.

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dwelling in which they occur, or with potsherds of which the Roman date is very doubtful. The pit-villages themselves also provide an argument against this view. Many of them have been excavated, especially those on Dartmoor<sup>66a</sup> and the hut-circles on Carn Brea. But, with the exception of a coin of Vespasian found in a hut-circle on Carn Brea, a fragment of Roman glass and some potsherds in a hut-circle at Morvah,<sup>67</sup> and a possible Roman bead found at Watern Oke on Dartmoor, also in a circle, they have yielded no Roman remains and the objects actually discovered date from an age long before the Roman.<sup>68</sup> On the other hand, the parallel, of the 'weems' in southern Scotland tells rather in favour of the conjecture. These 'weems' are subterranean houses, often of great size, and resembling the underground houses of Cornwall in degree of civilization, if not in structural details. In several of the 'weems' there have been found bits of Samian, and in two cases stones with undoubted Roman dressing.<sup>69</sup> Possibly a solution of the difficulty may be found in a further study of the subterranean chambers of Cornwall. Some, it seems plain, are far older than the Romans. Others may, on examination, prove to be contemporary with them, or even later. Hitherto the principal excavation of such remains has been undertaken on Dartmoor, and this region, unoccupied in Roman days by any but a nomad pastoral population, has yielded no evidence suitable to our present purpose.<sup>70</sup>

Thus the inhabitants of Cornwall in the Roman period, like those of Scotland, were little influenced by the Romans. Probably even in the fifth century, when Britain was cut off from the rest of the Empire, they had not arrived at the stage when life in towns or country houses could be conducted with ease or advantage to themselves. Yet it was just here that Roman traditions survived longest. Damnonia in the fifth century became a kingdom whose rulers bore Roman names and called themselves 'Gwledig' or Emperor, and were sufficiently Romanized and cultured to regard the Saxons as barbarians; it has been surmised that the usurper, Constantine III, who made himself ruler of Gaul, was of the royal house of Damnonia.<sup>70a</sup> The reason is not far to seek. Cornwall was probably immune, or almost immune, from Saxon or Irish raiders and pirates who assailed the rest of the island; it was too distant for the one and offered too little hope of booty to the other.<sup>71</sup> Damnonia, indeed, must have become a home of refuge to those fleeing from the barbarian. But because civilization had advanced so little in this corner of the

<sup>66a</sup> Information from Mr. R. Burnand.

<sup>67</sup> See Index p. 32 f. under the names mentioned.

<sup>68</sup> Even the fortified villages, such as Traprain Law in Scotland, and Kimmel near Abergale, and other places in Wales, whose population while living in their rude huts trafficked with the Romans, using Romano-British pottery, etc., do not occur in Cornwall unless Carn Brea is an example, but here very few Roman objects have been found. For Traprain Law, see *Proc. Soc. Antiq. of Scotland*, 1914-15, 1919-20, and following years; for Wales, Dr. Wheeler in *Cymrodon Soc. Trans.* 1920-1921, pp. 40 ff.; for Carn Brea, see also R. Burnand *Trans. of Plymouth Inst.* 1895-6.

<sup>69</sup> Jos. Anderson, *Scotland in Pagan Times: the Iron Age*, pp. 289-307. *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.* vii, 171; viii, 108, 473; *Proc. Soc. Ant. London*, iv, 161.

<sup>70</sup> Letters from Mr. Robert Burnand of Huccaby House, Princetown, to Professor Haverfield, 1905, 1906.

<sup>70a</sup> For survival of Romanized princes see Jenner "The Royal House of Damnonia," *Royal Cornw. Polytechnic Soc.* 1919; Haverfield *Roman Occupation of Britain* (1924) p. 280 ff.

<sup>71</sup> When the Irish did attack, it was more in the nature of missions to introduce Irish monasticism and revivify the British Church. Jenner "The Irish Immigrations into Cornwall in the late 5th and early 6th Centuries," *Royal Cornw. Polytechnic Soc.* 1917. See also Haverfield *Somerset Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc. Proc.* lxiv, xxxiii, xxxvii; and *Roman Occupation of Britain* (1924) p. 276 ff.

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island, Romanization, even if it had taken root or been introduced by refugees, was doomed to perish. Only traditions and legends survived to form the subject-matter of later romantic stories.<sup>72</sup> The one inheritance of Roman Cornwall was Christianity, and this was possibly not continuous. But, even if it, too, declined in the fifth century, it was easily renewed in the great revival of Celtic Christianity in the sixth and seventh centuries. It remained in close touch with Armorica, Ireland, and South Wales even after Cornwall was cut off from England and Wales by the advance of the Saxons in the late sixth century. It shared the missionary work in England and on the Continent. The names of Cornish churches still bear significant witness to Cornish steadfastness in the faith, for the patron Celtic saints have never been replaced by Latin saints as in other parts of England. Foreign elements have ever penetrated but slowly into Cornwall, that land "where fragments of forgotten people dwelt."<sup>73</sup> Thus it is that this county, as no other, preserved to a late day British traditions, whether pre-Roman, Roman, or post-Roman.

## 5. AN ADDITIONAL NOTE ON THE MILESTONES AND ROADS OF CORNWALL.

It is clear that Cornwall, hitherto barely affected by the Roman occupation, was about A.D. 250 suddenly brought into close contact with the Roman world. As to the nature of this contact there is no room for doubt. Apart from three or four earthworks<sup>74</sup> which, to judge from their shape, may possibly be temporary camps, but have yet to be proved Roman, Cornwall contains no military remains whatever; nor is there in the county a single town or villa of Roman type. But there is a great quantity of coin, all concentrated between Fowey and Land's End, and almost all west of Truro. This profusion of coin recalls the well-known hoards of the Mendip region, and must be ascribed to the same cause. In both cases money came into a district to pay for something that was going out of it: and in the case of Cornwall this was tin. We can thus infer that about 250, or a very little earlier, the Romans took over the tin mines and worked them as a crown monopoly, they having hitherto, except for the isolated and temporary experiment at Tregeare, been left in the hands of the natives.

But this was a purely industrial occupation. The country was exploited for its tin, but not otherwise touched by Roman civilization. The hoards are seldom found in connexion with structural remains: when they are, the remains are those of rude native villages. The same applies generally to the finds of isolated coins, potsherds, and so forth. Nor does any one native village yield many such finds, with the exception of that at St. Minver near Padstow, where the Roman objects are varied and numerous. The little earthwork at Bosence

<sup>72</sup> Mr. Jenner on some possible Arthurian place-names in West Penwith in *Journ. of Royal Inst. Cornw.* xix, 46 ff; and "History in Cornish Place-names," *Royal Cornw. Polytechnic Soc.* 1912.

<sup>73</sup> For Christian and post-Roman Cornwall, see Mr. Henry Jenner's works mentioned above; and T. Taylor, *Celtic Christianity in Cornw.* (1916). The Christian tombstone at Hayle, and the Chi-Rho in Phillack Church may conceivably date from before the Roman evacuation; they are, however, probably later, and have been already discussed under the head of Early Christian Monuments, *V.C.H. Cornw.* i, 409, 412, 420. See also Haverfield *Somerset Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc.* lxiv, xxxii, xxxviii.

<sup>74</sup> The large, irregular camp near Grampound, O.S. six-inch lviii, N.E.; the double camp near Merthen, lxxvii, S.W.; the small camp at Grambla near Wendron, lxxvi, N.E.; possibly the earthwork near Carwythenack, on the same sheet. In the earthworks section (*V.C.H. Cornw.* i, 67-86) none of these are marked Roman.

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seems hardly to be a native village, but neither is it large enough for even the smallest type of Roman fort; it may possibly have been a semi-fortified house, like that recently explored at Ely, near Cardiff,<sup>75</sup> and others.

This occupation lasted from the middle of the third century till at least the middle of the fourth, after which the relics become far less common. Its communications were based, not on a road system, but on the sea. The early site at Tregear may have been reached overland from Exeter—early coins have been found at Launceston, and there are traces of a road running south-west from that town<sup>76</sup>—but all the later finds are on the sea or close to it, definitely away from any line which might have been taken by a main road running the length of Cornwall and connecting it with the rest of Britain. Nor has any trace of such a road ever been found. Mr. Greenaway<sup>77</sup> supposes that one may have existed running from Bosence to Tregear, Tintagel, and Week St. Mary: but Bosence and Tregear were never simultaneously inhabited, and Mr. Greenaway's admittedly conjectural line passes through country conspicuous for its lack of Roman relics.<sup>78</sup> We have therefore to look in Cornwall, not for a central road-system, but at most for isolated roads or groups of roads leading from mining areas to neighbouring and convenient seaports.

### THE MILESTONES.

At this point we may turn to the inscribed stones: two have been known for some time, the others were first read in 1923 by myself.

1. The St. Hilary stone described on pp. 9, 10 (see fig. 15). My reading differs from Haverfield's only in lines 8 and 9, the ends of which have been destroyed by the loss of a flake of stone. I therefore read these lines as

*Pii f[el(icis)] augu[sti] filio*

instead of

*Pii Aug(usti) filio*

that is, 'Constantius, pious, fortunate and august.' It seems to me also that so large a stone, however useful to the mediæval builders, would not have been brought from any distance in a country so rich in stone as Cornwall, only to have been built into their foundations. They must have found it near at hand.

2. A granite gate-post barely a hundred yards from Breage church was recently seen by the vicar, the Rev. H. R. Coulthard, to bear Roman lettering. Mr. Coulthard bought the stone, whose size gave it a commercial value, and deposited it in the churchyard, where I examined it with his help (fig. 16). It is now housed in the church. The stone is a square column, 5 ft. 7 in.

<sup>75</sup> *Journal of Roman Studies*, xi, 67.

<sup>76</sup> Haverfield, *Romanization of Roman Britain* (4th ed. 1922), p. 26 n.

<sup>77</sup> *Antiq. Journ.* iii, 237.

<sup>78</sup> Besides Bosence, Tregear and Tintagel, Mr. Greenaway's road is designed to link up Grampound, Trevinnick (St. Kew) and Week St. Mary. Of these three sites not one has yielded any Roman relics; they only possess earthworks, of which those at St. Kew and Week St. Mary are very un-Roman in type, while that near Grampound is at least doubtful. I may here remark that no evidence whatever is forthcoming for the location of Ptolemy's *Voliba* either at Grampound or anywhere else.

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high and 15 in. wide: the inscription, which is not deeply cut but quite legible, runs as follows :

IMP [c] | DONO | MARC | CASSI | ANIO |  
*Imp(eratori) [C(aesari)] Do(mino) No(stro) Marc(o) Cassianio [Latinio  
Postumo pio fel(ici) aug(usto)]*

‘To the Emperor Cæsar our Lord Marcus Cassianius Latinus Postumus,  
pious, fortunate, august.’

From the last line the inscribed face has been flaked off, and though the restoration of the name is certain, the concluding epithets are probable only. An almost exact duplicate of this stone was the lost milestone found on the border of Carmarthenshire and Brecknockshire, on the road from the Gaer to Llanio.<sup>79</sup> The only other epigraphical relic of Postumus in Britain is the title Postumiana, twice applied to the Dacian cohort at Birdoswald, on the Roman Wall, on stones in the now vanished Naworth collection.<sup>80</sup> The Breage stone is therefore the only surviving inscription in Britain dating from the long reign of the vigorous and successful usurper who held Britain, Spain, and Gaul from 258 to 268.

3. The Tintagel stone is described above (p. 8 and figs. 10, 14). I differ from Haverfield’s reading only by the addition of an L to his VA in line 2 (fig. 14). A row of dots above line 1 represents a roughly-picked rule such as exists above the first line of the St. Hilary stone. In line 2, A and L are tied and followed by a stop somewhat resembling a centurial mark; in line 3 the cutter has, after LIC, begun a second c in error, and leaving it incomplete has continued the word later in the line. The last stroke of the N is crowded on to the very arris of the stone. In reading the stone it is necessary to distinguish the Roman chiselling from marks of a different character made by sharpening pointed implements in later times.

The text appears to run

[I]mp(eratori) C(aesari) G(aio) Val(erio) Licin(io)

‘To the Emperor Cæsar Gaius Valerius Licinius.’

As to the difficulty of the name Gaius or Galerius, if we bear in mind the extraordinary errors which often occur on milestones, it is easy to believe that the G is a simple mistake, and that the cutter was doing his best to name the Emperor Licinius, the contemporary of Constantine.

4. At Trethevey, the site of the reputed monastery of St. Piran, a mile and a half east of Tintagel, is a squared granite column 4 ft. 6 in. high, 12 to 14 in. broad, and 10 in. thick. It has been used as a gatepost, and two dowel-holes for the insertion of hinges have been sunk in the inscribed face; the stone has cracked off at the level of the upper dowel-hole, and the top of the stone is lost, but the loss can hardly amount to more than 5 in. or 6 in. The remainder of the stone is now carefully preserved by being cemented into a paving against the wall of the house near which it was found in 1919 by Mr. W. B. Harris (fig. 17). It was seen, some time afterwards, by Mr. Henry Jenner and Sir W. Flinders Petrie, who recognized it as a Roman milestone, and it is to the latter that I owe my first information as to its existence.

<sup>79</sup> *Corpus Inscript. Lat.* vii, 1161.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.* vii, 820, 822.

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FIG. 14. TINTAGEL: ROMAN MILESTONE ( $\frac{1}{2}$ )

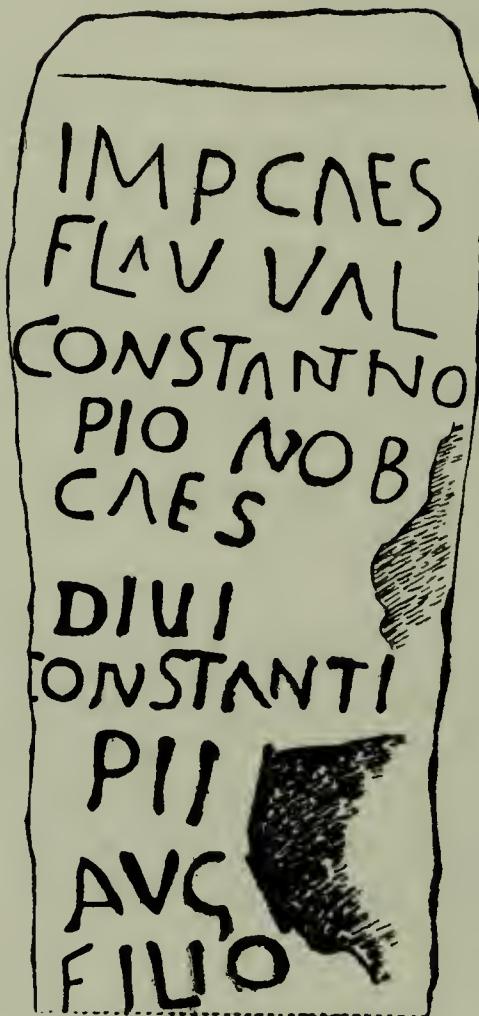


FIG. 15. ST. HILARY: ROMAN MILESTONE ( $\frac{1}{2}$ )



FIG. 16. BREAGE: ROMAN MILESTONE ( $\frac{1}{2}$ )



FIG. 17. TRETHEVEY: ROMAN MILESTONE ( $\frac{1}{2}$ )

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The inscription is shallow and much more weathered, but four lines can be read with certainty, and there are unmistakable traces of two other lines, at the beginning and end respectively. These read C | DOMI | NGAL | LOET | VOLVS, that is

[*Imp(eratoribus)*] *C(aesaribus) Domi(nis) N(ostris) Gallo et Volus [iano...]*

'To the Emperors Cæsars our Lords Gallus and Volusianus...'

The c at the end of line 1 is too faint for absolute certainty, but it looks as if line 1 had run IMP C. This, regarded as a plural, is incorrect; but so, in any case, is DOMIN, whether we understand it as reading *Domi(nis) n(ostris)* or *domin(is nostris)*, alternatives equally discreditable to the cutter's style. The text is, however, clear; nor would the solecism be removed by dating the stone to 251, when Volusian was not yet raised to the rank of Augustus. Otherwise the date would be 251-253.

## THE ROADS.

While only nos. 1 and 3 of these stones were known, it could be plausibly asked whether they were milestones at all, or only honorific inscriptions. But the addition of two others makes doubt on this head almost impossible. They conform in every particular to the types of milestones usual in the late third and fourth centuries, and there is no reason for refusing them the name of milestones except the difficulty of identifying the roads on which they stood.



FIG. 18. SKETCH MAP SHOWING ROAD TO PORTHLEVEN.

We seem to be concerned with two roads or groups of roads: one skirting the shore of Mounts Bay, the other running along the shelf between the high moors and the cliff-top near Tintagel. With regard to the former, there is a straight road, now disused, running from St. Hilary south-eastward for nearly six miles to the harbour at Porthleven (fig. 18). It is traceable throughout its length by lanes or footpaths, and beyond St. Hilary signs of it are visible as

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far as Ludgvan. Ludgvan is on the borders of the old tin-mining area of Penwith, and Porthleven is the first safe<sup>81</sup> natural harbour along the south coast, starting from Land's End. If Penwith tin had to be shipped along the south coast, and if the sailors did not wish to double the Land's End on every voyage, Porthleven was the best harbour they could have chosen. No Roman remains have been found here; but it is tempting to conjecture that the St. Hilary milestone marks a road by which tin was regularly brought from Ludgvan and beyond, to this convenient port.

The stone at Breage is on the old road from Marazion to Helston, but though this is certainly a very old road there is nothing about it that suggests a Roman line, and this stone may possibly mark another road connecting Porthleven with the interior, this time with a mining district outside the Penwith peninsula.

That there were other routes for the carrying of tin in south-western Cornwall can hardly be doubted. A straight trackway<sup>82</sup> leading from the Camborne district to the natural harbour of Hayle is marked as an old road in maps of two hundred years ago, and this may well be Roman; further, the various hoards found on the banks of the Helford river point to the probability of Roman ports at such places as Gweek.

When we turn to the Tintagel area the facts are far harder to interpret plausibly. Tintagel church and Trethevey are nearly two miles apart by a road which, if not straight, is as straight as the ground permits, and two miles beyond Trethevey such a road might either come down to the sea at Boscastle or strike inland and aim by easy ways at Exeter; or it might follow the modern main road to Stratton. But there is no evidence that it does any of these things; and why a Roman road should have come to Tintagel at all I cannot see. We can hardly suppose that the Romans were constructing a coastal road from the neighbourhood of Bude to that of Padstow: for, if so, they would not have brought it out to the very brink of Tintagel cliffs, but would have cut off the corner by keeping nearly a mile away inland. And we cannot suppose that the Tintagel milestone has been brought far from the place where it was found. Tintagel is not on the way from anywhere to anywhere: neither is it a natural terminus for any road. It is not a good harbour; its only value is its military value, and if the Romans had wished to fortify this coast against sea-raiders in the middle of the third century, they might have fortified Tintagel in the same way in which, a century or more later, they fortified Scarborough. But hitherto no Roman fortified site has been found here, and in general the Roman occupation of Cornwall is strikingly unmilitary. A small Roman earthwork which appears to be a signal-station of the Yorkshire coast type was explored some years ago by Mr. St. George Gray on the coast of North Devon near Lynton;<sup>83</sup> and this implies that others await discovery, for a signal-station, in the nature of the case, involves other signal-stations. But so far as we know, these signal-stations belong to the late fourth century, and we can hardly assume that they were being built in Cornwall about 250.

<sup>81</sup> Mr. Jenner expresses some doubt as to whether Porthleven was a safe natural harbour in Roman times, though no doubt there was always a creek of some sort there; he suggests Loe Pool as an alternative.

<sup>82</sup> So I am told by Mr. Henry Jenner, F.S.A., to whom I am indebted for much kind assistance.

<sup>83</sup> *Old Burrow Camp, Exmoor*, by H. St. George Gray, *Trans. Devonshire Assoc.* xliv, 703-717 (1912).

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The Tintagel-Trethevey road, therefore, remains, to me at least, an unsolved problem, and one which demands for its solution further discoveries. It does not seem to be accounted for by the requirements of the tin trade: it hangs in the air at both ends, for the so-called Roman road leading from Week St. Mary to Stratton and beyond is as yet unproved:<sup>84</sup> and all that I can do at the moment is to commend the problem to the attention of those who know the district.

## 6. INDEX

**ALTARNUN.**—Intaglio of griffin or winged horse, Borlase, p. 342, plate xxviii. It is hard to judge this object from Borlase's illustration, but it may well be Roman. It is as likely, however, to have been lost by a modern as by a Romano-British owner.

**BINNAMY.**—See Stratton.

**BODINAR CRELLAS.**—See Sancreed.

**BODMIN.**—Bodmin town does not seem to be a Romano-British site. Nothing Roman has been found in it except three coins: a First Brass of Pius, mentioned by Iago, *Roy. Inst. Cornw. Journ.*, x. 214, and a Julius Cæsar and a Vespasian stated by Gilbert, i. 211, to have been dug up in 1816 during the partial rebuilding of the church. As Wallis does not notice these two in his *Bodmin Register* (Bodmin, 1827-38), Iago thinks that Gilbert may have confused some discovery made at Tregear (see above, p. 5). But Gilbert was writing almost at the moment when the church was rebuilt, and his evidence may be sound.

Bodmin parish, on the other hand, shows several traces of Romano-British occupation in its western district. Such are: an earthwork, coins, and potsherds discovered at Tregear, 2 miles west of the town; coins discovered at Rutherford Bridge and Pencarrow Wood; pottery discovered at Boscarne; and (though just outside the parish boundary) a coin and fibula found at Trekillick in Lanivet. For the significance of these finds, see above, p. 5; for the details see the single headings.

**BOSCARNE** (Bodmin parish).—Bronze buckle, embossed Samian of first century, and other potsherds in Bodmin Museum. See also p. 5.

**BOSCASWELL** (spelt also BOCADZHIL, etc.).—See St. Just in Penwith.

**BOSENCE** (BOSENS, St. Erth parish).—Earthwork, inscribed metal saucer, etc., see p. 8.

**BREAGE.**—Inscribed stone, see p. 27. At Godolphin, a mile or so from Bosence, 1,600 copper coins in an urn covered by a stone, found April, 1779. Most of the coins, 8 pounds in weight, were sold to a Jew and lost sight of; those examined belonged to Gallienus, Victorinus, and Tetricus, and the whole hoard was doubtless similar to the Carhayes hoard (see below). Hitchins, *Archæologia*, xiv. 225 (hence Lysons, p. ccxxv. and later writers). Whitaker, *Supplement to Polwhele* (London, 1804), p. 88, merely repeats *Archæologia*.

In 1886 the Rev. S. Rundle showed to the Penzance Nat. Hist. Society a coin of Maximin found some years before at Wheal Vor, a hamlet in the parish of Breage (*Penzance Nat. Hist. Soc. Rep.* 1886-7, p. 290). Which Maximin is meant, is not stated.

Coins are said also to have been found on Tregonning Hill in Pencair Camp (*Roy. Inst. Cornw. Journ.*, ix. 362; Lake, i. 136). But the statement is very vague.

**BUDOCK** (near Falmouth).—At Pennance Farm, 400 yards from Pennance Point and in field 734<sup>a</sup> of the parish map of 1841, two labourers found in February, 1865, a hoard of about 1,000 Second and Third Brass coins, lying in rouleaux. They were surrounded by black matter suggestive of a sack or bag, which crumbled as soon as uncovered, and rested on a rude floor of stone, 2 feet below the surface. Mr. R. Fox bought 631 of these, which were catalogued by Dr. Thos. Hodgkin (*Royal Cornwall Polytechnic Society, 35th Report*, 1867, p. 71 ff.) as follows:—

5 Gallienus	1 Tetricus	132 Galerius
1 Postumus	4 Tacitus	16 Severus II.
4 Claudius Gothicus	9 Probus	20 Maximin Daza
1 Lælianus	152 Diocletian	39 Constantine I.
2 Aurelian	129 Maximian	5 Illegible
1 Victorinus	110 C. Chlorus	

The earlier coins are all Third Brass; a third of the coins of Diocletian and all the later emperors are Second Brass *folles*. As no coins of Licinius or Maxentius occur, Dr. Hodgkin

<sup>84</sup> Though Mr. O. G. S. Crawford kindly tells me that an unrecorded earthwork, suspiciously Roman in appearance, has lately been seen near this road, a little south of Helebridge.

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suggests that the hoard was hidden between August and December, 306. The absence of coins of Carausius and Allectus is noteworthy and puzzling. Accounts of the hoard are given also by Madden, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1865, p. 318 (list of 391 coins, part of the 631 afterwards catalogued by Hodgkin), and, more briefly, in the *Arch. Journ.* xxii. 332; *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1865 (ii), 199; *Roy. Inst. Cornw. Journ.*, I (4). xiv, II (5). 92, III (12). xxx, V. 201, etc. Besides the coins obtained by Mr. Fox, a few came to Mr. John Burton, of Falmouth (Boase, *Collect. Cornub.* p. 123); a coin of Maximian is noted in W. C. Borlase's Laregan Sale Catalogue, No. 97; a Second Brass of Diocletian is in Penzance Museum, 12 are in Truro Museum (*Roy. Inst. Cornw. Journ.*, xii. 150), etc.

Two more coins (1 Maximian, 1 Constantine I.) were found in 1902. No doubt they were overlooked in 1865. [*Antiquary*, xxxviii., 1902, p. 324.]

**BURYAN.**—See St. Buryan.

**CALVADNACK.**—See Wendron.

**CAMBORNE.**—A coin of the 12th year of Nero found in a garden in East Charles Street, and an urn containing some hundreds of Constantinian, mostly brass, but some silver, in clearing away an ancient mound in Rosewarne Park. *Cornish Notes and Queries* I. (1906), 24. See also Carn Brea.

**CAPE CORNWALL.**—See St. Just in Penwith.

**CARHAYES.**—Hoard found November, 1869, in a tin jug fenced in by 3 stones in Beechtree Wood (once a tidal creek), 3 ft. below the present surface just above the level of the highest tides and resting on sea sand. The jug, when perfect, probably resembled a squat claret jug holding a little more than an imperial quart (fig. 8c) and was stoppered with a wooden plug: its material is 96 per cent. of pure tin. The hoard contained about 2,500 Third Brass, of which a few were plated silver. The landowner, the late J. M. Williams, secured the jug and 1,500, and Mr. M. Dunn, of Mevagissey, bought about 1,000. The Rev. W. Willimott printed a brief list of Mr. Williams's 1,500 in the *Arch. Journ.* xxvii. 142, 208; I have since examined 2,099 which Mr. Williams and Mr. Dunn had still left in 1899 after giving specimens away, and printed a full list, *Numismatic Chronicle*, xx. (1900), 209. Combining the two lists, we can draw up the following summary of 2,289 coins.

2 Valerian	8 Marius	6 Tacitus
192 Gallienus	878 Tetricus, father	2 Florianus
15 Salonina	396 Tetricus, son	26 Probus
41 Postumus	184 Claudius Gothicus	22 illegible
2 Lælianus	19 Quintillus	
512 Victorinus	7 Aurelian	

The hoard is also mentioned *West Briton*, Nov. 25, 1869; *Roy. Inst. Cornw. Journ.* iii (iii) (Report 53, 1870), pp. xxi, xxix; v. 201, and x. 246; Lake, iii. 343; *Brit. Arch. Assoc. Journ.* xxxii. 521. A few coins are in the Truro and Penzance Museums, and 100 are said to be at Wisbech, where I inquired for them in vain. 120 coins found their way to Cardiff Museum, 45 of which can still be identified there. They are as follows: 1 Valerian, 10 Gallienus, 2 Salonina, 6 Postumus, 2 Marius, 8 Tetricus i, 1 Tetricus ii, 11 Claudius Gothicus, 3 Quintillus, 1 Probus (*Cardiff Nat. Soc.* xi (1879) 45; information from Dr. R. E. M. Wheeler). The jug is still at Carhayes Castle. Clement Reid in *The Geology of the Country around Mevagissey* (Memoir of the Geological Survey, 1907), p. 61, points out that the position of the jug proves that in Roman times the sea-level was almost the same as now.

**CARMINOW.**—See Helston.

**CARNANTON** (Mawgan in Pydar).—Inscribed pig of tin, see p. 10. See also Nanskeval.

**CARN BREA** (Illogan parish, between Redruth and Camborne).—This great hill was apparently occupied in pre-Roman and Roman times. Besides neolithic remains, flints, and hut-circles of perhaps various dates, the following objects concern this article: they are arranged in order of date, so far as possible:—

(1) Some 40 or 50 uninscribed British coins, some early, some comparatively late, found in June, 1749, near the ridge of the hill. Borlase, p. 258; Evans, *Anc. British Coins*, pp. 51, foll. The inscribed British coin of the Catti (west country type) mentioned by Evans, p. 488, as found "near Camborne about 1865," may also come from Carn Brea.

(2) Bronze coin (weight 14.265 grammes) with bearded head on one side and galloping horse on the reverse, usually attributed to Micipsa (B.C. 145-115) or some other Numidian prince later than the destruction of Carthage, but sometimes called Punic-Spanish. Acquired by the late Mr. Henry Fox about 1830 and said to come from Carn Brea: now in the Truro Museum [*Roy. Inst. Cornw. Journ.* xii. 123, 147; xiii, 103; xvii, 21-2; information from Mr. J. D. Enys and Mr. Howard Fox]. Unfortunately no precise record exists of the

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circumstances under which Mr. Henry Fox obtained this coin or of its exact origin. If really found on Carn Brea, it is the sole link yet discovered between Africa and Cornwall, and though probably later than the destruction of Carthage, might reasonably be connected with the tin trade (p. 20). For the attribution of the coin see L. Müller, *Numismatique de l'ancienne Afrique* (Copenhagen, 1862), iii. 18, 19; Zobel de Zangroniz *Estudio historico de la Moneda antigua espanola*, i, 110; Berger, *Revue Archéologique* xii (1889), 212, ff; and Babelon, *Rev. Numismatique*, ser. iii. tome 7 (1889), p. 393. I have consulted Dr. George Macdonald and Prof. Oman about this puzzling coin.

(3) Sepulchral urn and coin—apparently First Brass—of ‘Augustus Cæsar,’ found about 1710 on a ‘steep and difficult hill’ opposite Carn Brea Castle, which had ‘a prodigious heap of stones’ on it, made artificially: *Carte, Hist. of England*, i. 103; hence Borlase, p. 307, etc. I am not sure what hill *Carte* means, whether the other end of Carn Brea itself, or Carnmenellis, or more probably (as Mr. Thurstan Peter suggests to me) Carnmarth in Gwennap parish; *Carte* says that the stones were being carted away for aqueducts in mines, and there have been granite quarries on Carnmarth from time immemorial. Nor can it be called certain that the coin belonged to Augustus: it might belong to any later emperor whose own name had been defaced on the obverse, while his title Augustus remained legible. But as coins of ‘Julius Cæsar’ are said to have been found, about the same time as this ‘Augustus,’ on Carnmenellis (Borlase *Antiq.* p. 308), it is probable that we have here two accounts of the same find. See also Wendron.

(4) Denarius of Vespasian (of A.D. 70, Cohen 93) found on the floor of a hut circle (hut xx.) in the eastern group of huts excavated by Mr. Peter in 1895; a Roman or Late Celtic ring-fibula was found in the same excavations [*Reliquary*, 1896, pp. 49, 110; *Roy. Inst. Cornw. Journ.*, xiii. 28, 94, 101; Burnand, *Trans. Plymouth Institution*, October 17, 1895; *V.C.H. Cornw.*, i, 370]. It should be added that, according to Mr. Burnand, a Cornish penny was found in circle xxxvi, with and under flints. See also above, p. 25.

(5) Near the eastern end of Carn Brea, some coins (of which 1 Antoninus Pius, ‘large size, of the ancient lead’; 1 Severus Alexander; 1 Chlorus, were legible) were found in 1744. [Borlase, pp. 281, 299; Gilbert, i. 197; W. C. Borlase, *Nænia*, p. 259.]

(6) At the foot of the hill to the north, in a circle, a pint of Roman copper, including 1 Tetricus and 1 Urbs Roma (late third and early fourth centuries), found with small bronze head of animal and hinged and pierced cover, July, 1749. [Borlase, pp. 299, 309, and plate vii.; Gilbert, i. 197; W. C. Borlase, *Nænia*, p. 258.]

(7) Gold coin of Valentinian I. (RESTITUTOR REIPUBLICÆ—SMTES, Cohen 28) found about 1828 in the brook at the base of Carn Brea [*The Olio*, iii. (1829), p. 105].

(8) Hoard (details unrecorded) found before 1749 at Carn Brea. Borlase, p. 300, hence Gilbert, i. 197.

(9) I believe that another hoard has been found in the last few years, but I have failed to get details.

**CARNMENELLIS (—MENELEZ).**—Alleged coins, see Wendron and Carn Brea, No. (3).

**CARNON STREAMWORKS** (in Perranarworthal and St. Feock (Devoran) parishes and Restronguet Creek).—In mining below the water level there were found a wooden shovel, a pick of stag’s horn, a tin bowl, and more than three-score minims of ‘Third Brass’ coins, at depths given as 30 and 36 feet or fathoms; according to Gilbert the date of the finds, or some of them, was 1811. For the coins see Gilbert, i. 211; *Roy. Inst. Cornw. Journ.*, 1844, p. 18, and v. 201; *Num. Soc. Proc.*, 26 February, 1852, p. 12 f.=R. Sainthill, *Olla Podrida*, ii. (1853) 112. For the shovel, *Arch. Journ.* xxxi. 54 (cut); Lake, ii. 8, and *Plymouth Instit. Trans.* v. (1873) 130. The coins appear to have been barbarous imitations of Tetricus (so Sainthill) and such as might belong to the late third century. As illustrative of the depth of finding, it may be added that a crucifix was found in the Carnon Streamworks in 1812, 30 feet under the then bed of the river (*Roy. Inst. Cornw. Report* 1845, p. 17). See further Henwood and Colenso, *Roy. Cornw. Geol. Soc.* 1827 and 1829, and Worth, *Royal Cornw. Polyt. Soc.* 42nd Rep. (1874) 42; p. 23 above. The tin bowl is in Truro Museum.

**CHAPEL CARN BREA.**—See St. Just in Penwith.

**CHAPEL UNY.**—See Sancreed

**CHYGARKIE.**—See Mawgan in Meneage.

**CHYSAUSTER (CHYSISTER, etc. in Gulval parish).**—Early village, containing a few alleged Roman-British potsherds according to W. C. Borlase, *Sketch of Tin Trade*, p. 26. *V.C.H. Cornw.* i, 370. But probably all pre-Roman: nothing that I have seen from this spot seems to be Roman.

**CONDORA (CONDURROW, St. Antony in Meneage parish, on the south side of Helford river).**—Large hoard, 24 gallons full of small copper coins of Constantine and his family, Constantinopolis and

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Urbs Roma, found in the spring of 1735, south of the road. [Borlase, p. 301; hence Gilbert, i. 196; Polwhele, i. 122, etc.] Polwhele's notion that the hoard was buried because of an invasion of Saxons, which gave the name to Porth Saussen, not far off, seems unworthy of credence. Probably the hoard was buried early in the fourth century. For another Helford river hoard see the next entry.

CONSTANTINE.—(1) At the church, 3 coins, given to Bodmin Museum but since mislaid, *Roy. Inst. Cornw. Report*, xxxv. (1853) 13. (2) On a creek of Helford river, 40 coins found in the eighteenth century. These included First Bronzes of Domitian (A.D. 87, Cohen 125-7), of Trajan (Cohen 350), and of Faustina; the rest belonged to the Lower Empire, the latest being of Valens (reverse SECVRIPUBLICAE DAT. a variety of Cohen 47). It may seem doubtful whether these so differently dated coins belong to one find or hoard, but the Chygarkie hoard (see Mawgan in Meneage) shows a similar mixture. [Borlase, p. 301; hence Polwhele, i. 124, Gilbert, i. 197, etc.]

COSWINSAWSON (CASSAWSIN, Gwinear parish).—Twelve 'Third Brass' of the fourth century found in a mound of earth about 1830; some now in Truro Museum are Constantinian, 2 being of Constantius Junior. Lewis describes them as 'Constantius Tyrannicus, Flavius Julius, and Faustina'—an obvious muddle, in which Faustina should be Fausta. [Lewis, *Topog. Dict. s.v. Gwinear*; Lake, ii. 151; W. C. Borlase, *Nenia*, p. 263 note; Truro Museum.]

CRANTOCK.—See Pentire.

CROFTOW.—See Morvah

CURY.—Lewis notes a hoard from this parish, but it appears to be that of Chygarkie. See Mawgan in Meneage.

DEVORAN.—See Carnon.

ETHY (St. Winnow parish, on east side of Fowey river).—Four coins, 1 Postumus, 1 Tetricus senior, 2 Claudius Gothicus. [Borlase, p. 303 note; *Natural Hist.* p. 325; and letter dated 16 Oct. 1758 in Brit. Mus. Stowe MS. 752, fol. 18; Lake, iv. 331 (not quite clear).] The earthwork called 'Giant's Hedge' is thought to end at Ethy, but there is no need to call it Roman or to connect it, as Borlase did, with the coins.

FALMOUTH.—See Budock and St. Mawes.

FEOCK.—See Carnon.

FOWEY.—Coin of Trajan and 'British urn' found near Place House. [Wallis, *Cornwall Register* (Bodmin 1847), p. 435; Lake, ii. 32.]

FOWEY HARBOUR.—Blocks of tin, doubtless post-Roman, found in 1898. See above, p. 24.

GIANT'S HEDGE.—Not a Roman earthwork, see Ethy.

GIANT'S ROCK.—See Zennor.

GODOLPHIN.—See Breage.

GOLDBERRY.—See Goldherring, under Sancreed, no. 5.

GOLDEN (in Probus parish, O.S. lviii NE).—Earthen camp over River Fal, once called Wolveden [*V.C.H. Cornw.* i, 467, 469].—Identified (but without probability) with Ptolemy's Voliba, *Y Cymroddor*, xi. 25.

GOLVADNEK.—See Wendron.

GRAMPOUND.—No Roman remains have been found here, and theories about the spot must be regarded with caution. See above, p. 26, n. 74.

GULVAL.—For Chysauster, see that name. For hoard found in Marazion Marsh in 1793 see Ludgvan; Lake, ii. 122, puts it under Gulval.

GUNWALLOE.—See Helston.

GWENNAP.—See Carn Brea.

GWINEAR.—(1) Copper and silver coins found about 1820 on the Trungle estate. [Lewis, *Topog. Dict.*; *Penaluna Hist. Survey* (Helston, 1848), i. 239; O.S. lxii SE; Lake, ii. 151. (2) See Coswinsawson.

HALLIVICK (HALVISICK), apparently Halviggan in the parish of St Stephen-in-Brannel.—Tin or pewter vessel, Roman in shape, found in 1793 in streamwork near Chapel Rock (fig. 13). [MS. Minutes Soc. Antiq. 30 April, 1807; *Archæologia*, xvi. 137; *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* (2nd ser.) iv. 493. It is now in the British Museum; see above, p. 23.]

HARLYN BAY.—See Padstow, p. 5, f.

HAYLE.—Hoard found in 1825 in constructing the causeway leading south-west from Hayle over the sands, while removing the eastern cliff. The coins were in a copper vessel shaped like a basin, and consisted of some thousands of minims and a few 'Third Brass' of Tetricus, Victorinus, Postumus, etc., barbarous in style, and cast, not struck. [Carne, *Trans. Royal Geological Soc. of Cornwall*, iii. (1828) 136; hence Edmonds, *Land's End* (London, 1862), p. 56; Lake, iv. 71 (wrongly under Phillack); *Roy. Inst. Cornw. Journ.* xiv. (1831) p. 7,

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xxv. (1843) 19, vol. v. (1875) 201. *Royal Cornw. Polytechnic Soc.*, 12th Rep. (1844), p. 69. Truro Museum has 43 coins from the hoard.] For the inscribed stones at Hayle and Phillack, see above, p. 26, n. 73. See also p. 31.

**HELFORD RIVER.**—For coins found on the banks of this inlet see Condora, Constantine, Mawgan in Meneage, Mawnan.

**HELIGAN.**—See St. Ewe.

**HELSTON.**—A few finds have been made on the west of this town, which may be conveniently grouped here.

(1) In October, 1860, Mr. J. Jope Rogers, M.P. found in the 'Post Field,' 300 yards from Loe Bar and  $\frac{1}{2}$  mile from Carminow manor-house, some Roman potsherds, ashes and charcoal, bones of animals, a bit of bronze, and large stones suggesting a rude building. [Arch. Journ. xviii. 168; Roy. Inst. Cornw. Report, xlvi. (1861); Celtic-looking potsherds in Truro Museum.] In October, 1862, he found two stone ovens about 150 yards from the preceding, but their age is uncertain. [Arch. Journ. xx. 64; Roy. Inst. Cornw. Report, xlvi. (1863) 80.]

(2) Borlase (p. 300) notes 2 silver coins found near Penrose, 1 Republican *Bigatus* of about 100 B.C. and 1 Trajan; hence Gilbert, i. 197; Roy. Inst. Cornw. Journ. v. (1875) 202.

(3) A Greek Imperial coin of Caracalla is said to have been found in Loe Pool Valley [Western Antiquary, iv. (1885) 164]. It appears to have been minted at Augusta Traiana or Berœa in Thrace (Mionnet *Descr. de médailles antiques* (1822), i. 42 f., and ii. supplement, 511-7), and to bear on its reverse a figure of Demeter holding ears of corn in her right hand and leaning with her left on a long torch (G. Macdonald).

**ILLOGAN (LUGGAN).**—Carte, *Hist. of England*, i. 103-4 note, states that many Roman coins, some certainly and probably all copper, were found in a barrow in the fields of Illogan about 1710. This caused other barrows to be opened and coins to be found—among which he saw coins of Claudius, Nerva, Hadrian, Pius, L. Verus, Faustina, Lucilla. These seem to be the Golbadnek coins; see Wendron. For Carn Brea, which is in this parish, see that name.

**KARN.**—See Carn.

**KELLY** (Egloshayle and St. Kew parishes).—'Roman camp' (marked O.S. xxv NE); compare Iago, Roy. Inst. Cornw. Journ. x. 230 and plate 2; Maclean, i. plate xii (2). There seems no reason to call it Roman.

**KENWYN.**—This has naturally been connected with Ptolemy's Kenion. Some earthworks exist here (O.S. lvii. SE), but no Roman remains have been found. And the similarity of the ancient and modern names is too close.

**KERRIS.**—See Paul.

**LANDAVIDDY.**—See Polperro.

**LAND'S END.**—See Sennen.

**LANHYDROCK.**—Eight Third Brass coins found about 1840, and given to Truro Museum: Roy. Inst. Cornw. Journ. xi. 241. See also Lanlivery.

**LANIVET.**—At Trekillick, silver coin of Vespasian (A.D. 78, Cohen 215 or 216) found 1873 in ploughing. Also a bronze fibula. [Roy. Inst. Cornw. Journ., viii. 29, x. 224, 451, and plates R, T, see above, p. 3.] Iago, Journ. x. 221, mentions a great pitcher full of tin found in a streamwork, near Lanivet, which he seems to think Roman. See also Bodmin and p. 5.

**LANLIVERY.**—A late Roman urn was found in this parish near Penquite, 1 mile from Lostwithiel. [W. C. Borlase, *Nenia* p. 229 and cut.] Roman potsherds inscribed **CAMILLO** and **MENILVÆ** are said to have been found near, at Restormel Castle. [MS Minutes Soc. of Antiq., 7 June, 1792; hence Gough, Adds. to Camden's *Britannia* (1806), i. 20, misspelling 'Menilnæ'.] If Samian, these pieces have been misread.

A small image in white metal, with incised Hebrew letters, is said to have been found in 1853 on Bodwen Moor, and is now at Lanhydrock. It seems beyond question far later than the Roman period. Arch. Journ. xix. 172; Roy. Inst. Cornw. Journ., xiii. 222; Allen, *Hist. of Liskeard* (1856), p. 27. I am indebted to Lord Clifden for an opportunity of examining the object.

**LANSALLOS.**—See Polperro.

**LAUNCESTON.**—Three coins have occurred here: one Vespasian and one Domitian found in the walls of an old house, and a third (IVLI alone legible) found in digging a vault in the church. [Borlase, p. 360; hence Polwhele, i. 102; Gilbert, i. 197, etc.] A. P. Robbins *Launceston Past and Present* (1884, p. 6) adds that '50 years ago when Eastern Road was made, another coin bearing the image and superscription of Cæsar, was found.' This is not sufficient to prove the place a Romano-British site. See above, p. 27.

**LISKEARD.**—The notion that Liskeard was a Romano-British site called 'Legio,' or 'Sebasta altera legio,' or the like, dates from a very early editor of Ptolemy, and is a mere fancy. See my paper in Arch. Journ. lx. 285. No trace of Roman remains has ever been found here.

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LOE POOL.—See Helston, no. 3.

LOSTWITHIEL.—Though called Uxella by Camden, Borlase, and others, and Voliba by Horsley, *Britannia Romana*, p. 378, the place has yielded no Roman remains, and the marks of antiquity noted by Horsley belong to other periods. For Roman remains in the neighbourhood, at Penquite and Restormel, see Lanlivery.

LUDGVAN.—(1) In draining Marazion Marsh (in this parish) in June, 1793, a hoard in an urn was found about 100 yards from the seashore near the present Long Bridge, north of the railway station. It consisted of about 1,000 Third Brass and minims of A.D. 250-270, and perhaps later coins: Gallienus, Victorinus, Tetricus are named as represented, and a specimen in Truro Museum seems to belong to the fourth century. [Trans. of the Society of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce, xiv. (1796), 163; Hitchins, Arch. xiv. 229; Lysons, p. ccxxv.; Drew and Hitchins, ii. 331; Gilbert, i. 196; Roy. Inst. Cornw. Journ. iv. (Report, liv. 1872), p. xcii.; Whitaker, Supplement to Polwhele (1803), p. 16, reprints *Archæologia*. Nine coins are in Truro Museum, and a few at Penzance. Site marked O.S. lxxiv. NE. refers to (2).]

(2) In 1849 a find was made near the seashore and the brook dividing Ludgvan and Marazion. It included rude masonry, brick, slag, ashes, rude potsherds, and pieces of a bronze vessel 3 feet in diameter. J. T. Blight considered this Roman, but it is impossible to speak with certainty. The bronze vessel suggests some early date. [Edmonds, Trans. Nat. Hist. and Antiq. Soc. of Penzance, i. 348, and *The Land's End*, p. 9; Lake, ii. 201. Site marked on O.S. lxxiv NE.]

LUGGAN.—See Illogan.

LUXULYAN.—The metal vessels, etc., found March, 1792, in a streamwork on Broadwater Moor are probably not Roman, but may be of early date. [Gentleman's Magazine, 1795 (ii.), 561 and plate.]

MADRON.—See Trereife.

MALPAS (MOPAS).—Large hoard found in 1747 in a ditch near Malpas Passage, on the east side of Tresilian River, in St. Michael Penkevil parish (Borlase, map, plate i.). It contained 20 lbs. weight of Third brass—perhaps 4,000-5,000 coins—among which were one or two of Severus Alexander and Valerian, and many of Gallienus and succeeding emperors down to Carinus (A.D. 283). [Ley, Gentleman's Magazine, 1749, 312 (fairly full list); Borlase, p. 302 note, who examined 3,000 of the coins; hence Gilbert, i. 196; Polwhele, i. 96; Roy. Inst. Cornw. Journ. v. (1875), 202.]

MANACCAN.—Roman coins at Tregonnel. [Penaluna, *Hist. Survey of Cornwall*, ii. 57.] Possibly a reminiscence of Condora, only a mile away.

MARAZION.—Truro Museum has or had a Second Brass of Nero, found near Marazion Church. Mr. J. B. Cornish has shewn me 3 copper coins bought by Mr. S. S. Wren long ago from working men in Marazion and said by the sellers to have been found somewhere in the west end of Marazion. They are (1) a Republican *as* of about 100 B.C., (2) a Second Brass of Claudius, (3) a Second Brass of Crispina, wife of Commodus. I am afraid the evidence as to the circumstances of finding is too weak for much stress to be laid on the find. A Republican *as*, in particular, is much more likely to have been brought to England in modern times and lost, than to have found its way here in antiquity.

MARAZION MARSH.—See Ludgvan.

MAWGAN IN MENEAGE.—At Chygarkie, a mile south of Treloowarren House, a ploughman found in 1817 an earthen urn under a flat stone, and in the urn a hoard of large and small copper coins of various dates. The number of coins is given variously as 200 and 1,600, but the larger number seems more correct. They included large Brass of earlier emperors, one each of Vespasian, Pius, Marcus, Crispina, and Julia (? Domna); also billon and Third Brass, of which Herennius Etruscus (A.D. 249), Marius, and Constantine II. are quoted. Apparently we have here a fourth century hoard, in which some earlier First Brass were included, for which mixture compare the forty coins found near Constantine. [New Monthly Magazine and Liter. Journ. vi. (May 1822), p. 236; Lewis, *Topog. Dict.* (s. v. Cury), ascribing the hoard to Trevassack, which is near Chygarkie; Penaluna, *Hist. Survey*, ii. 72; Lake, iii. 283; Cummings, *Brit. Arch. Assoc. Journ.* xxix. 350 and *Churches and Antiq. of Cury and Gunwalloe* (Truro, 1875), p. 98.] See also Helston.

MAWGAN IN PYDER.—For inscribed pig of tin found at Carnanton, see p. 10. See also Nanskeval.

MAWNAN (North side of Helford River).—Ten coins (five Victorinus, four Tetricus, one illegible), in Truro Museum. [Roy. Inst. Cornw. Report, 1830, p. 8; personal inspection.]

MEVAGISSEY.—See Carhayes.

MORVAH (West Cornwall).—(1) Hoard in urn, found June, 1789, near the road from Morvah to Penzance and five miles north of Penzance,  $\frac{3}{4}$  mile from Chun Castle. The urn lay near the corner of a small enclosure, surrounded by a thick uncemented wall of stone, and was placed

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under a stone inserted in this wall. The coins were mostly copper (a few lead) of Gallienus, Tetricus, Victorinus; they fell into the hands of a Jew. [Hitchins, in *Archæologia* xiv. 226, and in Whitaker, *Supplement to Polwhele* (1803), p. 88; hence Hitchins and Drew, i. 369; Lysons, p. ccxxv. etc.]

(2) Barrow excavated by W. C. Borlase in 1863. In the barrow was a kistvaen and therein an urn of prehistoric fabric containing burnt bones: near the urn, eight or nine small Roman copper coins (five now in Truro Museum with fragment of urn), one Constantinian *follis*, one *Crispus*, and one Constantine Junior, and the rest illegible but apparently coeval. There can hardly be any doubt that the coins are later than the kistvaen and urn, having been buried in the mound subsequently to its erection, and perhaps having fallen in deeper in the process of excavation. [W. C. Borlase, *Arch. Cambrensis*, xv. (1867), 33 and *Nænia*, pp. 183, 248. It has been suggested on the evidence of this find, that possibly Bronze Age types of pottery lasted on in Cornwall into the fourth century Abercromby, *Proc. Soc. of Antiq. Scotland* xli. 219. Briefer notices, *Brit. Arch. Assoc. Journ.* xxxiii. 204. *V.C.H. Cornw.* i. 363; Truro Museum. The Laregan Sale Catalogue No. 90 mentions five coins (one Constantius II), and a flint flake from this find.]

(3) A fragment of amber-coloured, pillar-moulded glass of the late first or early second century, and a few potsherds, one said to be of local ware, were found in excavating hut-circles at Croftow or Croftoe. [Marsden, *Roy. Inst. Cornw. Journ.*, xxi. (1923). pp. 170-173. See above, p. 25.]

MERTHEN.—See above, p. 26, n. 74.

MORVAL.—Lake records the discovery of about 70 Roman coins in the rubbish of a quarry on Bin Down Hill not long before 1870 [iii. 378].

NANSKEVAL.—Some silver coins were found here in an earthen pot and given to Truro Museum about 1829. [*Roy. Inst. Cornw. Report*, v. (1829), 29.] Their age, however, is not stated, and they are not now to be found in the museum.

NANSTALLON.—For the Tregear and Boscarne finds, see pp. 4, 32.

PADSTOW.—(1) For the settlement near Rock, and for the Trevone and Harlyn burials, see p. 5.

(2) W. Harrison, in his *Description of Britaine* (ed. 2, 1586, p. 65 in Holinshed's *Chron.*), mentions a 'brasse pot full of Romane coine,' as found near Padstow. The notice so closely resembles a notice in Leland of a find at Tredine that it may have been taken from it, since Harrison worked largely at second hand. See Tredine.

PAUL.—Not far from Sancreed. Near the house at Kerris, workmen removing a hedge in 1723 came upon a vault 8 feet long and 6 feet high, arched with stone, and in it 'a fair plain urn of the finest red clay,' full of earth,  $8\frac{3}{4}$  inches high, and some copper coins. [Borlase, p. 307, and plate xviii. 3; hence Polwhele, i. 139; Iago, *Roy. Inst. Cornw. Journ.* x. 242; W. C. Borlase, *Nænia*, p. 175; O.S. lxxiv. S.W.] W. C. Borlase calls the urn Samian, but its shape and size disproves that, and it was probably common red ware. The whole story seems, however, to have been improved in the telling.

PENCARROW (Bodmin parish).—Coin of Trajan found near the camp in Pencarrow and Dunmear wood. [*Royal Cornwall Gazette*, 6 August, 1870.] See p. 5 and also under Bodmin, p. 32.

PENQUITE.—See Lanlivery.

PENNANCE FARM.—See Budock.

PENROSE.—See Helston.

PENTEWAN (extreme south of St. Austell parish).—Coin of Tetricus and others found about 1888 on the seashore. [*Roy. Inst. Cornw. Journ.* ix. 377.] Old tinworkings said to descend below sea level have been traced here, and an arrowhead, chisel and bronze spearhead found in them; they may be pre-Roman. See *Trans. Royal Geological Soc. of Cornwall*, iv. 29, ff; *Penzance Natural Hist. and Antiq. Soc.* ii. (1864), 88. See St. Austell and p. 23.

PENTIRE POINT EAST (near Newquay, in Crantock parish).—First Brass of Severus Alexander (Cohen 503), found about 1891. [Iago, *Roy. Inst. Cornw. Journ.* x. 450.]

PENZANCE.—Two 'Second Brass' coins of Vespasian, corroded and nearly illegible, were found in August, 1899, in the Penzance Cemetery (grave 15 J 5), 8 feet below ground, together with some cow bones, lying in an ancient trench. [Information from Mr. J. B. Cornish, who showed me the coins.] *V.C.H. Cornw.* i. 362.

PERRANZABULOE.—A Second Brass of Nero (or? Vespasian), found in the old churchyard. [*Roy. Inst. Cornw. Report*, xxxii. (1850), 17; Truro Museum.] An urn of coarse clay, 11 inches high, figured by W. C. Borlase, *Nænia*, p. 181, after a drawing by the elder Borlase (perhaps the same as his plate xvii. fig. 2), seems Celtic rather than Romano-British.

PERRAN-AR-WORTHAL.—The minims recorded by R. Sainthill, *Olla Podrida*, ii. 112, as found near here in a copper mine, belonged to the Carnon streamwork. See Carnon.

PHILLACK.—See Hayle.

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PLAIN STREET.—Alleged Roman road leading from Stratton, Tintagel, and St. Endellion, to the St. Minver site between Rock and St. Enodock's church (see Padstow, pp. 6, 27, 33). Very doubtful. [Maclean, *Trigg Minor*, i. 484; iii. 8; *Roy. Inst. Cornw. Journ.* ix. 393.]

POLPERRO (Lansallos parish: O.S. lii. SE).—Bronze coin of Licinius found at Landaviddy in building a house: Lake iii. 45.

PROBUS.—See Golden.

REDRUTH.—See Carn Brea.

RESTORMEL.—See Lanlivery.

ROCHE.—Block of tin, 20 lbs. in weight, and shovel, found about 1772. [Hitchins and Drew ii. 587, Lake iv. 123, etc.] Age quite uncertain, but perhaps early. See above, p. 24.

ROCK (St. Minver parish).—Opposite Padstow. See p. 6.

ROSEWARNE.—See Camborne.

RUTHERN BRIDGE (Bodmin parish).—A 'Jew's House,' wooden spades, coins of Vespasian in stream-work: *Cornish Magazine*, April, 1828, p. 96, though that place is in a different valley. This is the only notice of the find and it may be a repetition of the neighbouring finds at Boscarne; see there and also Bodmin.

ST. AGNES.—Gold coin of Valentinian I. (Cohen 25—exergue, ANTA) found in 1684 near Goonvrea in the old earthwork called the Gorres. [Borlase, 300, 314; Polwhele, i. 109; Gilbert, i. 200, etc.—all dependent on a letter from Tonkin to Browne Willis, dated Jan. 1732.] A gold coin of Julian was found in 1910 on the slope of St. Agnes Beacon in 1910 [information from Mr. Henry Jenner].

ST. ANTHONY IN MENEAGE.—See Condora.

ST. AUSTELL.—Small coins of Nero found in the town. [Gilbert, i. 198.] For some Pentewan finds see Pentewan. Two blocks of tin (each 28 lbs. weight) were found long ago in old workings on St. Austell Moor, 80 feet deep, but their age is doubtful. [Borlase, *Natural History*, p. 163, pl. xx. ; Henwood, *Roy. Inst. Cornw. Journ.*, iv. 227 note. The Wheal Virgin streamwork (2 miles to the west, near Pentewan) yielded in 1851 a bronze celt and wooden mug 6 inches high, decorated with a bronze handle and three bronze bands, found 28 feet deep, now in Truro Museum, presumably Late Celtic work. An early La Tène Fibula found at Redmore, near St. Austell, was in Sir John Evans's collection. Saxon remains in a streamwork hereabouts, *Archæologia*, ix. 187; *Arch. Journ.*, xxi. 183; Evans, *Bronze Implements*, p. 400. See also Hallivick and p. 223.]

ST. BURYAN.—Coin of Vespasian found in streamwork. [*Arch. Cambrensis*, 1862, p. 360; *Roy. Inst. Cornw. Journ.*, v. (1875), 202.] See also St. Just (6) and Tredine.

ST. COLUMB MINOR.—See Treloy, Trevelgue.

ST. DENNIS.—Goss Moor see Roche.

ST. ERME.—The large inscribed pebble found in May, 1882, at Stairfoot is much later than Roman times. [*Roy. Inst. Cornw. Journ.*, viii. 285; Truro Museum.]

ST. ERTH.—See Bosence and Hayle.

ST. EWE.—In 1787 stream tinners dug up a 'gold' (probably, bright bronze) fibula of Roman date, probably of the first century, on Tregilgas Moor. [*Gentleman's Magazine*, Dec. 1787, p. 1055 and plate ii.] The Moor is now enclosed. Part of a bronze finger-ring found at Heligan in the R. Polmazick in 1787, was given to Truro Museum in 1919. [*Roy. Inst. Cornw. Journ.* xx. 440.] It may be one of the objects mentioned in *Archæologia*, ix. 186.

ST. GERMANS.—The tessellated floor mentioned by Gilbert, i. 201; Lake, i. 60 and Furneaux, *Historical Notices of St. Germans*, p. 47, is mediæval.

ST. HILARY.—Inscribed stone of Constantine I in churchyard: see pp. 9, 27. The subterranean dwellings at Treveneague examined by J. T. Blight (*Account of . . . subterranean Chambers at Treveneague*, Penzance, 1867, pp. 11 ff., 24) were considered by him to have been occupied in Roman times, and so thought C. Roach Smith (*Gentleman's Magazine*, 1867, i. 795). Definitely Roman potsherds are said to have been found there with much that is earlier and some pieces taken to be probably Saxon, *Intellectual Observer*, xi (1867), pp. 74, 153, 223. But I confess to some doubt as to the Roman character of many of the objects found.

ST. IVES.—See Zennor, for the Giant's Rock hoard.

ST. JUST IN PENWITH.—(1) Denarius of Vespasian, found on the rifle range at Cape Cornwall. The coin is a variety of Cohen 363, 364 (IMP VESPASIAN . . . head to right; reverse, PONTIF TR P COS III, Vespasian seated with sceptre and olive branch). Information and rubbings from W. Holman, Foundry House, St. Just.

(2) Small bronze bull, 2 inches high, found in St. Just Vicarage garden in building a school-room in 1832, now in Truro Museum. Often called Phœnician but fairly certain to be Roman. [Buller, *St. Just in Penwith* (1842), p. 6; Birch, *Arch. Journ.* vii 8; *Roy. Inst. Cornw. 32nd Rep.* (1850), 47; *Arch. Cambrensis*, 1862, 348.]

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(3) Boscaswell (also spelt Bocadzhil, etc.) in a field, 100 copper coins found about or before 1737: on some ANTONINUS PIUS plain. [Borlase, p. 300; Lysons, p. ccxxiv; Buller, *St. Just*, p. 81; W. C. Borlase, *Nænia*, p. 261.] Probably the coin mentioned *Nænia*, p. 172 (Antoninus, *Cos.* iii.), is one of these.—A cliff castle and some subterranean dwellings are not far away: *Trans. Royal Geol. Soc. of Cornwall*, ii. 352; *Roy. Inst. Cornw. Journ.* i. (2). *V.C.H. Cornw.* i. 368, 460.

(4) At Carngluze (in the east of the parish) and Bollowall (near Cape Cornwall) are pit villages which (according to W. C. Borlase) have yielded a few Roman potsherds. But this is very doubtful. [*Athenæum*, 21 September, 1878, p. 374; *Roy. Inst. Cornw. Journ.* vi. 198; *Brit. Arch. Assoc. Journ.* xxxiv. 423; *Archæologia*, xlvi. 194.]

(5) The Ashmolean contains two small granite dishes which are said to come from the tenement of Leswyn in this parish. [Borlase, p. 310; Lysons, ccxiii. note.] But their age is open to doubt.

(6) At Chapel Carn Brea, two miles south of St. Just church, a piece of Samian ware was found by Mr. W. C. Borlase in the chapel mound under the chapel and above the kistvaen: it is, or was, in Penzance Museum. [*Archæologia* xlvi. 197; *Age of Saints*, Introduction, p. vii-xii.]

ST. KEVERNE.—See Trelian.

ST. KEW.—See Tregear Rounds and Trevinnick.

ST. LEVAN.—See Tredine.

ST. MAWES (opposite Falmouth).—Uninscribed block of tin, astragalus-shaped (fig. 12), 158 lbs. weight, dredged up in 1812 between St. Mawes and Pendinas: now in Truro Museum. Poole (*Roy. Inst. Cornw. Journ.* i. (iv., 1865), 9) tries to equate its weight with 2 Aeginetan talents, and to connect it with the continental tin-trade of the ancients. James, *Arch. Journ.* xvi. 38 and xxviii. 196, suggests that its shape fits it alike for transport by horse or boat. But its age is really uncertain, and the correspondence of weights is very hypothetical: see Henwood, *Roy. Inst. Cornw. Journ.* iv. (*Report* lvi, 1874), p. xiii, f. See also above, p. 24.

ST. MICHAEL CARHAYES.—See Carhayes.

ST. MICHAEL PENKEVIL.—See Malpas.

ST. MINVER.—See p. 6; see also Pentire Point.

ST. STEPHEN-IN-BRANNEL.—See Hallivick.

ST. VEEP.—At Polglaze, small copper coin of Constantinus Junior as Cæsar (A.D. 317-337), minted at Antioch (SMANT). [Rubbing submitted to me.]

SANCREED.—Several discoveries are recorded from the moors of this parish.

(1) At Higher Bodinar, round the south and east slopes of Bodinar Hill, remains exist of bee-hive huts and underground chambers (Bodinar Crellas) noted long ago by Borlase and Edmonds, and hence probably Borlase procured a prehistoric urn which he wrongly calls Roman (pp. 206, 307). Recently, Roman coins, rude potsherds, a stone bowl and ashes were found in a hut enclosure, and a hoard of coins (Tetricus, Victorinus, Probus, etc.), was detected under a flat stone at its entrance, while other coins of similar date have, I believe, been picked up in the adjoining fields. [W. C. Borlase, *Arch. Journ.* xxx. 329; *Nænia*, p. 259; *Brit. Arch. Assoc. Journ.* xxxii. 521; Buller, *St. Just*, p. 80, *V.C.H. Cornw.* i, 370; O.S. lxvii. S.E. marks the place where the coins were found.] Here again the antiquity of the chambers and huts may well be greater than that of the coins.

(2) At Chapel Uny, west of Sancreed churchtown, Mr. W. C. Borlase discovered bee-hive huts, subterranean and other, in 1863-8, and in one of the former an iron spearhead and iron crook, black and red rude sherds, a bit of Samian, fused tin, 2 spindle-whorls, etc. [*Arch. Journ.* xxx. 334; *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* (2nd ser.), iv. 164, ff.; *Nænia*, 149, 260, *V.C.H. Cornw.* i. 369; Laregan Sale Catalogue, No. 151 and foll.; the Samian is now, or was, in Penzance Museum. See above, p. 24.]

(3) Chygwidden (north of the churchtown). Hut enclosure, and inside it a few Roman Third Brass found in clearing away ruins. [W. C. Borlase, *Arch. Journ.* xxx. 341; *Nænia*, 173, 261; *V.C.H. Cornw.* i. 371.] The details are not, however, absolutely certain.

(4) At Botrea (Trannack Down) copper coins of Carausius were found about 1840, apparently isolated instances (Buller, *St. Just*, p. 80). C. F. Barham, exploring the Botrea hut circles, found no Roman remains (*Trans. Royal Geological Soc. of Cornwall*, iii. 192).

(5) Goldherring (in south-west of parish), 2 or 3 coins of Postumus and Tetricus. [*Brit. Arch. Assoc. Journ.* xxxii. 521; W. C. Borlase, Laregan Sale Catalogue, No. 98.] See also Paul.]

SCILLY ISLES.—On Samson, 6 silver coins of Constantine II, Julian, Honorius. [*Roy. Inst. Cornw. Journ.* iv, *Report* lvi. (1874) p. xxvii.] These are the only Roman remains yet found on the islands. The Roman roads sometimes marked on St. Mary's are mythical. It is possible that the Scilly

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Isles may be the 'Silura insula' mentioned by Solinus as divided from the lands of the Dumnonii by a stormy sea, and also the 'Sylina insula' to which the Priscillianist heretic Instantius is said to have been deported in A.D. 387 (Sulp. Severus, *Hist. Sacr.* ii. 51). They were apparently inhabited from early times (W. C. Borlase, *Nænia*, pp. 70, 159), but were of no importance, and except at one spot in Tresco had no tin mines of any sort whatsoever (Carne, *Trans. Royal Geological Soc. of Cornwall*, ii. 356). An uninscribed Roman altar of coarse granite, 32 inches high, with an axe carved on one side and a knife on the other, is now at Tresco Abbey; it is said to have been brought from Garrison Hill, St. Mary's Island, by Mr. Augustus Smith in 1870, but its provenance is uncertain. It is figured in the *Antiquaries Journ.* (1921), 239.

**SENNEN.**—Near the Land's End in 1807 some 300-400 Roman copper of about A.D. 250-80 were found hidden between two flat stones. [Lysons, p. ccxxv. citing the Rev. J. Rogers; hence Drew and Hitchins, i. 370, *Brit. Arch. Assoc. Journ.* xxxiii. 109, etc.] A writer in *The Olio*, iii. (1829) 106, states that 'a few twelve-months ago some silver (or more properly speaking, composition) coins of Julius Cæsar and Nero were found on the surface at the Land's End.' This is probably an untrustworthy notice. *Penaluna, Hist. Survey* (ed. 1819, p. 230), mentions vaguely some Roman coins found by a Mr. D. Williams near the church.

**SITHNEY.**—See Helston. (2).

**STITHIANS.**—The following coins were found by a farm-labourer about 1918:—1 Republican (Q. Titus, 87 B.C.), 2 Mark Antony (silver), 1 Vespasian, 1 Trajan, 3 Pius, 2 Marcus, 1 Faustina, 1 Lucilla, 2 Commodus, 1 Septimus Severus, 1 Geta, 1 Caracalla, 1 Valerian, 1 Philip I., 1 Postumus, 1 Constantius, 2 Constantine I. All except six were bronze. 10 are in Truro Museum, the rest in the possession of Mr. E. W. Newton of Camborne [Information from Mr. Jenner and Mr. G. Penrose.]

**STRATTON.**—No Roman remains seem to have been found here. Gough (adds. to *Camden's Britannia* (1806), i. 26), supposes certain copper coins found at Binnamay, or Binhamy, to be Roman, but his authority (Borlase, p. 312) does not say so. The name Stratton may come from the River Strat; its history is certainly obscure, and its connexion with 'street' doubtful. (McLauchlan, *Roy. Inst. Cornw. Report* xxxiv. (1852) 20; Maclean, *Trigg Minor*, etc. See above pp. 27, 31.)

**TAMAR MOUTH.**—Numerous Romano-British remains, indicating occupation in all four centuries of the Roman period, have been found at the mouth of the Tamar, but only (I believe) on the Devonshire side. See above, p. 13.

**TINTAGEL CHURCH.**—Inscribed stone, see pp. 8, 28.

**TOWEDNACK.**—Hoard, probably found really in Zennor parish; see Zennor.

**TREDINE** (uncertain site).—'There was found "in hominum memoria" digging for the fox, a Brasse [Pot] ful of Roman mony.' So Leland, *Itinerary* (iii. 3 ed. Hearne, p. 14), in a marginal note following a reference to a Vyvyan, lord of Tredine Castle, and opposite a reference to a 'dns de Twardreth'; the bottom of the page is broken off in the original MS. in the Bodleian. Borlase (p. 300) assumed Leland to mean that the entry concerning the coins referred to Tredine and then identified Tredine with Treryn in St. Levan. But Treryn was never a lordship of the Vyvyanys. One might suggest rather Tredinney in St. Buryan, which belonged to the Vyvyanys, or else connect the entry with Tywardreth, but Mr. Jenner thinks that Leland meant Treryn (or Treen) and made a mistake about the Vyvyanys. See also Padstow

**TREGEAR** (Bodmin parish).—See p. 4.

**TREGEAR ROUNDS** (St. Kew).—This earthwork has been excavated by Mr. R. Burnand and others, and has yielded no Roman remains.

**TREKILICK.**—See Lanivet.

**TRELAN** (St. Keverne parish).—The beads, mirrors, etc., found here in 1833 are Late Celtic of pre-Roman date. [*Roy. Inst. Cornw. Journ.* iv. 266, v. 203; *Arch. Journ.* xxx. 267, *V.C.H. Cornw.* i. 362,] The 'Roman camp' marked on Goonhilly Downs by the Ordnance Survey is not Roman.

**TRELOWARREN.**—See Mawgan in Meneage.

**TRELOY** (in St. Columb Minor parish).—Streamwork and remains of probably various dates, bronze celts, tin pan and cover, brooches, coins, rings, found on the tin ground. [W. J. Henwood, *Trans. Royal Geological Soc. of Cornwall*, iv. 65; *Roy. Inst. Cornw. Journ.* iv. 220.] Henwood says that he had reason to believe the coins Roman. A brooch which he figures is an oval disk-fibula of bronze inlaid with a circumference of blue and white, and may be Roman, possibly late Roman; it, or one like it, is now in Truro Museum. From Henwood, Sir H. de la

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Bèche, *Geology of Cornwall*, p. 525; *Brit. Arch. Assoc. Journ.* xxxiii. 203; W. C. Borlase, *Sketch of Tin Trade*, p. 25; *V.C.H. Cornw.* i. 371, where the brooch is said to be of late-Celtic date. The site is close to Carnanton. See above, p. 20.

**TREREIFE** (Madron parish).—Tin block (29½ lbs. weight) found about 1845 in an old smelting furnace of more developed type than the ordinary 'Jews' House,' cast in a mould and inscribed with a raised monogram. It has been called Roman and even Roman Christian. But its stamp is utterly unlike anything Roman and extremely like a mediæval merchant's mark (see, for example, *Devon. Assoc.* xxiii. 317), and as the furnace whence it came is described as being more elaborate than ancient furnaces were, we may best refer it to the Middle Ages. For an account of the finding see Le Grice, *Trans. Royal Geological Soc. of Cornwall*, vi. (1846) 43; Way, *Arch. Journ.* xxiii. 277; Poole, *Roy. Inst. Cornw. Report*, i. (iv. 1865) 9; Gowland, *Archæologia*, lvi. 301. See above, p. 24.

**TRERYN** (or **TREEN**).—See Tredine.

**TRETHEVEY**.—Inscribed stone, see p. 28.

**TREVELGUR** (**TREVALGA**) in St. Columb Minor, on Watergate Bay.—Here is a cliff-castle, and 500 yards eastwards a barrow in which W. C. Borlase thought to detect a Romano-British potsherd (*Nænia*, p. 84; *Archæologia*, xliv. 425; *V.C.H. Cornw.* i. 453, 458). But its age is very doubtful. See above, p. 24.

**TREVENEAGUE**.—Subterranean dwellings, probably not Roman; see St. Hilary.

**TREVINNICK** (St. Kew parish).—Alleged quadrangular camp, but only one corner left; no coins or potsherds found in it. Called Roman by Maclean, *Trigg Minor*, ii. 80, and Iago, *Roy. Inst. Cornw. Journ.* x. 229, but probably much later.

**TREVASSACK**.—See Mawgan in Meneage.

**TREVONE**.—See p. 5.

**TRURO**.—No Roman remains seem ever to have been discovered here.

**TYWARDREATH BAY**, near Par.—Hoard, found before A.D. 1700, of coins dating from *circa* 250–350 A.D. Borlase saw 1 Valerian, 3 Gallienus, 20 Victorinus, 15 Tetricus, 9 Claudius Gothicus, 1 Aurelian, 1 Maximin, 1 Constantine I., 1 Constantine II., 1 Urbs Roma. [Borlase, p. 303; hence Polwhele, i. 140; Gilbert, i. 197, etc.]

Here also, about 1599, was found (it is said) 'a stone coffin and lid and in it an urn gilded and engraven with letters and full of black ashes.' [Carew, *Survey of Cornw.* p. 137, ed. 1602 = p. 319 ed. 1811; hence Borlase, p. 308, and other writers.] Whether Roman, may well be doubted. The tale has plainly been improved in the telling. See also Tredine.

**WADEBRIDGE**.—For the coins cited by Gough (Adds. to *Camden's Britannia* (1806), i. 26) from Harrison, see Padstow.

**WEEK ST. MARY** (in the north of the county, O.S. viii. N.E.)—Ashbury camp was taken to be Roman by Iago, who imagined a series of camps from the north coast to Bodmin (*Roy. Inst. Cornw. Journal* x. 233). But the theory is highly improbable, and Ashbury has no Roman features; see *V.C.H. Cornw.* i. 470. See also above, p. 27.

**WENDRON**.—(1) At Golvadnek or Calvadnack (O.S. lxx. NE), about A.D. 1700, some tanners opening a barrow came to large stones disposed vaultwise and inside found an urn full of ashes and a fine chequered pavement, and also several Roman 'Second Brass' coins and a little brass and ivory object. The coins examined were 1 Pius, 1 Faustina, 1 Lucilla, 1 Nerva, 1 Trajan, 1 Marcus; but it is not certain that any except the first two came from this spot. [Letters of Tonkin, dated 1727 and 1733, quoted by Borlase, pp. 307–8; hence Polwhele, i. 137; Gilbert, i. 197, etc.] This somewhat resembles a find made about the same time and recorded by Carte in connexion with an Illogan find. The 'fine chequered pavement' may have been improved in the telling. A 'British village' was partly explored here in 1887: *Penzance Nat. Hist. Soc.* iii. (1887–8), 349.

(2) Carnmenellis (Carnmenelez), half a mile north-east of Golvadnek. Barrow with coins of 'Julius Cæsar.' [Borlase, p. 308, reasonably distrusting the emperor's name; W. C. Borlase, *Nænia*, p. 179, etc.] Compare Carn Brea No. (3), which may well refer to the same coin as this. See also p. 26, n. 74.

**ZENNOR**.—(1) At Bosporthennis or Bosphrennis, cromlech excavated in 1872 by W. C. Borlase, containing potsherds taken by Borlase to be Romano-British, but very probably much earlier. [*Nænia*, p. 66.]

(2) Under the Giant's Rock, perhaps a 'quoit,' an urn full of ashes and by the side of it a round ball of earth containing 80 silver coins of Valentinian I., Valens, Gratian, Arcadius, Honorius, Magnus Maximus, found in 1702. [Carte, *Hist. of England*, i. 103 note; Borlase, p. 300 note (citing Tonkin); hence Matthews, *Hist. of St. Ives*, p. 22, W. C. Borlase, *Nænia*, p. 269, etc. See also *V.C.H. Cornw.* i. 363 f.] The site is often put in Towednack parish.

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UNCERTAIN LOCALITY.—Bronze coin of Domitian found in a streamwork. Carew, *Surv. of Cornw.* (1602), p. 87; hence Borlase, p. 300, etc.

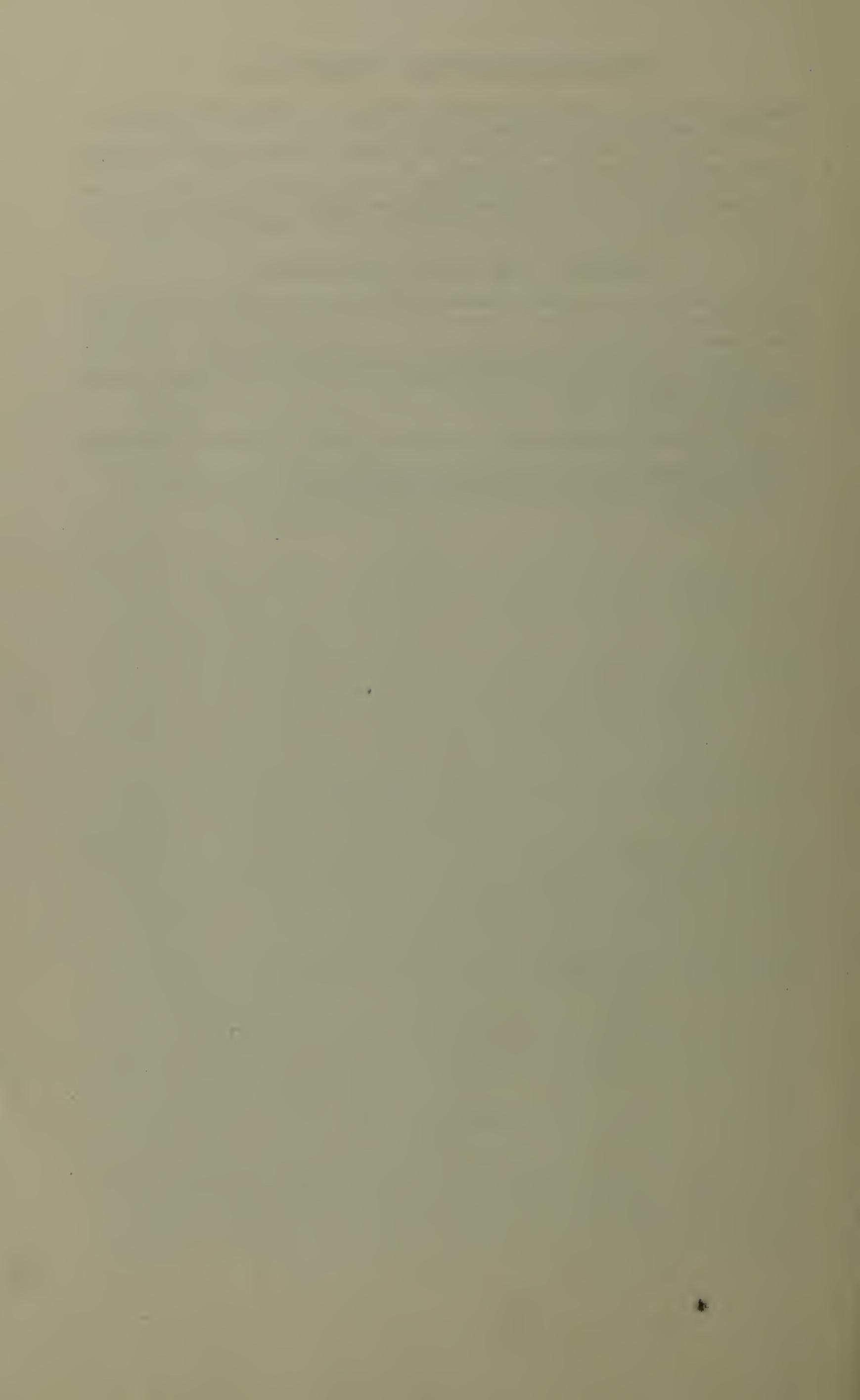
Urn and coin of Gordian found in a tumulus. Borlase, p. 306 (from Hals); hence Polwhele, i. 141 n., W. C. Borlase, *Nænia*, p. 184, etc.

Gold coin found in east Cornwall (BONVS EVENTVS, reverse ROMAE RENASCENTIS and military figure). Thos. Kent, *Roy. Inst. Cornw. Report*, 1858, p. 24. The coin is one of those struck in June–October, A.D. 68 in the interval between Nero and Galba (Cohen 296).

### APPENDIX: THE NAME COLD HARBOUR

It may be convenient to give here the cases, so far as I know them, where the name Cold Harbour occurs in Cornwall. It will be observed that they have little relation to the places where Roman remains have been found.

- (1) South of Towednack church near Nonconformist chapel (O.S. lxvii. NE).
- (2) Near E. Looe, close to the Barbican Rocks on the Liskeard road (Bond, *East and West Looe*, p. 34). Not on O.S. map.
- (3) Near Marazion.
- (4) Near Trungle in Gwinear parish, 300 yards from a place where Roman coins were found (O.S. lxii. SE).
- (5) Near Castle Kernick or Canyke, Bodmin (O.S. xxxiv. N.W.).
- (6) South of St. Agnes, on the borders of Perranzabuloe parish (O.S. lvii. N.W.).
- (7) In Ladock.



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